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MEMOIRS

RELATING TO

THE LORD TORRINGTON.

EDITED BY

JOHN KNOX LAUGHTON, M.A., R.N.

PRINTED FOR THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

M.DCCC.LXXXIX.

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WESTMINSTER:
PRINTED BY NICHOLS AND SONS,
25, PARLIAMENT STREET.

[NEW SERIES XLVI.]

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INTRODUCTION.

THESE "Memoirs relating to the Lord Torrington," are printed from the MS. formerly in Lord Hardwicke's collection, at the dispersion of which, in 1882, it was bought for the British Museum, where it is now numbered Additional, 31,958. It is a very rough first-draft; full of erasures, interlinear corrections, transpositions, and interpolations, so that reducing it to order has been often a task of considerable difficulty. Many of the passages erased are in themselves interesting, and not unfrequently necessary to the sense. These have been retained, printed in heavy brackets. For the rest, the wild spelling and still wilder grammar and pronominal confusion are presented as the author left them. As to who that author was there is no clue except the little one on p. 146, which would seem to identify him with one of the permanent officials of the Admiralty. I had fancied it might be Thomas Corbett, for many years one of the Secretaries of the Admiralty, and previously secretary to Sir George Byng, of whose command in Sicily, 1718-20, he published an account in 1739. But Corbett had much more literary skill than the author of this MS.; he could spell much

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better, and a comparison of handwritings shows no resemblance. The writing of the MS. is certainly not Corbett's; and all my endeavours, assisted by Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office, to match it in the Admiralty Records of the period, have been unavailing. There is, however, I think, no doubt that the work is, as it claims to be, compiled from Byng's journals and papers: it is thus a valuable, and, in many particulars, an unique contribution to the naval history of the period. Nowhere else is there a satisfactory account of the intrigues by which the navy was won to the cause of the Prince of Orange; and though the more purely naval relation is often overlapped by Burchett's *Transactions at Sea*, many of the details here given are interesting and novel.

It will be seen that the narrative stops abruptly in January 1705. It is impossible to assign the reason for this; but there does not seem to have been any continuation. Presumably after the author's death, the MS. came into the possession of Richard Owen Cambridge, the poet, from which it passed into that of Lord Hardwicke, probably the second earl, and certainly previous to 1790, when it was referred to by Dalrymple (*Memoirs*, App. to pt. i. 314). A note from Lord Royston, now let into the fly-leaf, embodies the little all that can be said of this. It is not dated, and runs:—

"Lord Royston's compliments to Mr. Cambridge and desires to know how his sore throat does. He was confined . . . [the rest of the page is cut off] . . . returns Mr. C. his MSS. about Lord

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Torrington, which has some curious facts in it; and, though not complete, is well worth running over, and is certainly writ from family papers."

It is impossible not to regret that the writer who, notwithstanding his orthographical and grammatical atrocities, had access to these sources of information, was not able to continue his work, at least to the peace of Utrecht. Byng's conduct in 1708 has never been critically examined or fully explained; and the materials for doing so, even from his own point of view, would have been very welcome. The Sicilian campaign, the crowning glory of his life, has been very fully described by Corbett. It will be noticed that the title of the MS. as it stands, is a misnomer. The only Lord Torrington mentioned in it is Arthur Herbert, whose elevation to the peerage as Earl of Torrington is mentioned on p. 38, and who died without issue in 1716. George Byng was made Viscount Torrington in 1721, as a reward for the decisive victory off Cape Passaro. The title would therefore seem an indication that the author intended to complete his work to the end of his hero's career.

On the accession of George II. Lord Torrington was made First Lord of the Admiralty, and so continued till his death on 17th January 1733. Lord Hervey, who dearly liked saying something spiteful of the men he did not love, describes him as one who "never had 'aucun but pour aucune action' but the making his court and fortune." He undertook, he says, the Mediterranean command in 1718, "upon very unsafe and unwarrantable clandes-

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tine orders . . . succeeded, beat the Spaniards, put the Emperor in possession of Sicily, got vast sums of money, cheated the sailors, and returned home, thanked, caressed, and rewarded, instead of being censured, broke, or hanged, which indisputably he ought to have been. . . . . This was the man appointed to succeed Lord Berkeley [in 1727]. He had been in his youth a resolute, able, enterprising fellow; mercenary and knowing in his business; but now so declining in a very advanced age, that the edge of all these qualities, except his avarice, was pretty well blunted. He was now nothing more than an inferior man, weakened both in body and mind, neither able to execute or project any great things, and fit only to direct in the common routine of the sea affairs, which long experience in that business made him as capable of as any other man in the fleet." (*Memoirs of the Reign of George II.*, vol. i. p. 51).

As Lord Hervey is certainly wrong in his account of the orders under which Byng acted in 1718; as he is wrong, too, in speaking of him as "in a very advanced age" in 1727, we may fairly suppose that he is also wrong in describing him as, at that time, in his dotage. Nothing in his conduct of business during the six years he was First Lord of the Admiralty bears out the charge. The accusation of "avarice" is, perhaps, better founded. It appears certain that he had, at all times, a keen eye to the main chance, instances of which will be noticed in the Memoirs, as well as in the following letters, interesting in themselves for the light they throw on the obscure history of "half-pay," but especially curious as showing that, whilst on a foreign station and with the cares and responsi-

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bilities of a commander-in-chief and a plenipotentiary resting on his shoulders, Byng could amuse himself with the study of his six-years-old account books.

Sir G. Byng to Hon. Mr. Secretary Burchett.[a]

"Orford, off of Paradice, near Messina,
"15th August, 1719, N.S.

"Looking over some accounts that lay by me, I find my flag pay as Admiral of the White was not paid me from the 1st January 1712-13, to the 4th May 1713. I would endeavour to state the fact as I think it is. In the last war the flag officers were paid the year round, whether they were actually on board or not, since they were always esteemed ready for service, and occasionally sent either to sea, or to the ports to see ships fitted out, on courts martial, or other service as required. I was, I think, then in the Admiralty, as some other flag officers were. I was paid to the last of December 1712 my flag pay; but some of the captains and other officers that were not commissioned for ships had no pay at all; in consideration of which, the Queen, having been spoke to in their behalf, was pleased to direct the half-pay should commence from the 1st of January preceding the time the peace was declared. But that was not, nor could not be, meant to any officer that was actually in commission, as I then was until the peace. In time of peace, you know, Sir, the flags are not in constant commission, and receive pay only from the appointment of their service when they are designed on any expedition; but in the war it was otherwise, for they were constantly in commission.

"Taking this to be fact, if so, I have a right to have my pay continued from the 1st of January 1713 to the 4th of May 1713,

[a] [Admiralty Records.—*Admiral's Despatches* (*Mediterranean*), 1717-20.]

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or the day the peace was proclaimed. I desire you would lay this before my Lords of the Admiralty, and if they think, as I do, that my pretentions to my pay are just, I desire they would order the Navy Board to pay those few months remaining due to me."

Burchett's official reply[a] to this, dated 9th September, is:—

"As to what you have represented in your letter of the 15th [August] in relation to your flag-pay from the 1st of January 1713 to the 4th of May following, or to the day the peace was proclaimed, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you that the establishment for half-pay commenced the 1st of January 1712-13, though the peace was not signed till the 31st of March following, nor proclaimed till the 4th of May; and you having been, during that time, one of the members of this board, you could not be entitled to half-pay; and as for the whole pay, which you desire in regard your commission was in force, I am further ordered to acquaint you that neither Sir John Leak nor any other of the flag officers have been so paid longer than to the 31st December 1712, but were all put upon the half-pay List for the time they were out of employment."

Sir G. Byng to Hon. Mr. Secretary Burchett.

"Barfleur, in Messina Mole.
"2nd November, 1719, N.S.

"I received your letter of the 9th of September. In answer to it, I agree that Sir John Leake was not paid longer than to the 31st December 1712, though, I if mistake not, some flags were paid whole pay in the time I mention. I know of no precedent

[a] [Secretary's Letter Book.]

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but this (if it must be one), of officers in whole pay being put back on half-pay. Is it so in any other officers of the fleet? I know the Queen ordered half-pay to those officers that were out of commission, to commence the 1st January 1712-13, and she did that as a grace and favour to those officers; but did not intend that those who were in whole pay should be struck off and put on half-pay, for that would have been an injustice instead of a favour. Nor do I remember one precedent of that kind, excepting this of some of the flags (if it must be one), of officers who were on whole pay being struck off and put upon a half-pay list. I looked upon myself as an officer in whole pay (Admiral of the White), and by the rule then settled in the late war with France had equally as just a right to my whole pay as a flag of the fleet, from the 1st of January 1712-13 to the time of the peace, as I had to the pay paid to the 31st December 1712. But if there be reasons for not ordering my pay, besides that of other flags not asking it, or myself before this time, I shall not trouble you more about it; only take leave to remain with the same opinion that it is my right; otherwise I would not have asked it."

This letter, received on 5th December following, was considered by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty on the 7th, when they resolved:[a]—

"That he be acquainted that we are a little surprised at the contents of the said letter, so cannot we be of the same opinion with him relating to that matter, and that if he thought he had a right to the said pay, we do not doubt but he would have gotten himself paid the same when he was a member of this board about that time."

[a] [Minute Book.]

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And in a letter of the 8th Burchett conveyed to him this message in almost identical terms.

It only remains to say a few words as to the editorial work.

The text has been verified by a careful comparison of the proof sheets with the original MS. Where the grammatical confusion is so great as to obscure the sense, I have elucidated it by a reference to other sources. Where names of places are obsolete, wildly misspelt, or not to be found in an ordinary map or gazetteer, I have noted the modern name or the locality. Of biographical notes I have given but few, except for foreigners: English names can be found now, or in the future, in Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, or the *Dictionary of National Biography*. These editorial notes are enclosed in brackets, to distinguish them from the occasional notes by the author. In writing personal names, I have, wherever possible, followed the spelling of the individual's own signature. I know of no other certain standard in the midst of the excessive license; as perhaps an extreme instance of which, I may say that I have counted upwards of twenty different spellings of Sir Clowdisley Shovell's christian name.

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MEMOIRS

RELATING TO

THE LORD TORRINGTON.

In writing the following sheets recourse was had to the journalls of Lord Torrington, from his comand of the Deptford ketch in 1683. None being found before that year, what wee are acquainted with to that time is chiefly from his own discourses and his comisions from the time of his being a volunteer; but from that time not only his journalls but the resolutions of many councills of war which were held, together with his orders and letters, with other originall papers.

George Byng was discended from the eldest branch of that family which was seated at Wrotham, in West Kent, his ancestors possessing a good estate in that county. Robert Byng, of Wrotham, his great-great-grandfather, was high sherif of Kent in the 34 year 34
of the reign of Queen Elizabeth; his son George was representative
in parlement for Rochester[a] in the of same reign, and in the 36
next for Dover; and his son, who was likewise named George, 1 James.
marrying Catherine, the daughter of Sir John Hewett, left a son, Of John Byng, Esq. of Wrotham, Kent.
John, and to him his estate, much impaired, which was so far from
being retreived again that he conveyed away Wrotham, the seat He sold it.

[a] [If the 36 in the margin is intended to fill up the blank, it is erroneous. George Byng was Member for Rochester, 27th Elizabeth, 1584.]

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of his family, with what [land] remained. With the rest of his
He went to Ireland 1666. fortune in mony he undertook some projects in Ireland, were he went over with his family. His son George was then about 3 years old, being born on the 27 January 1663. He lived there at Newton by Charleville, but from the failings of those he had trusted to, he found himself brought into troubles, so that he was
Leaves Ireland 1672. obliged to return to England after staying there 6 years, leaving behind his wife and children. She being pressed by those to whom he was indebted, she left that kingdom with her son George (then about 9 years old), embarked for England, leaving her son John, about 4 years of age, at Yaul, and Robert at nurse under the care of Mrs. Franklyn, a daughter of the Lady Digby's, who had a friendship for her, where he remained ill educated till his brother John, going into Ireland with the army in 1690, returned with him into England.

Mr. Byng now saw little hopes of retrieving his affaires. He found himself obliged to sell his estate at Tunbridge, which was settled in joynture upon his wife; yet he had the satisfaction to beleive his son woud be more successful, and bring his family to their former state. He applied to his perticular friend the Lord Peterborough to recomend him to the Duke of York, who obtained
1678, May. him the King's letter, bearing date the 30 May 1678, to be a volunteer in the Swallow, comanded by Capt. Joseph Haddock,[a] in
July. which ship he entered the 11 of July, being the first time of his going to sea; and Capt. Haddock quitting her in October (being then remouved into the Hope), he was succeeded by Capt. Thomas Fowler.[b] Mr. Byng being likewise discharged from thence by the King's order of the 23 October, he remouved from that ship on the
November. 28 of November, entring the same day in persuance of it on board

[a] [Younger brother of Sir Richard Haddock, afterwards Comptroller of the Navy.]

[b] Each of those captains had orders to sail with the ship under their comand into the Downs and there to remain till further orders; one on the 17 of May, the other on the 26 October 1678.

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the Reserve, comanded by Capt. David Loyde,[a] who on the 3 of June following was succeeded in the comand of her by Capt. Laurence Wright.[b] On the 9 of June Mr. Byng was discharged from thence, entring that day on board the Mary Rose, comanded by Captain Charles Talbot, in persuance of a warrant from the Comissioners of the Admiralty, to receive him on board as a voluntier, and in which he continued 13 months, being discharged from her on the 8 June 1680, when the ship was paid off.[c] On the 11 April 1681, he went a volunteer in the Phœnix, comanded by Capt. William Blagg. It was then in the time of the war with the Algerines; and going into the Streights, where Admirall Herbert comanded a squadron,[d] some time before peace was made with the Moors, he arrived at Tangiers.[e] His uncle (by his mother), Colonel

1679, June.

1680, June.

1681, April.

[a] On the 6 August 1678, Capt. David Loyde had orders to receive on board the Reserve 3 companies of foot of about 100 men each, part of the Duke of Monmouth's batallion of foot, and to transport them to Ostend, and after landing them to return into the river. [Lloyd left the Navy at the Revolution and followed the fortunes of King James, as whose agent he is said to have carried on negotiations with Russell and other officers of the fleet in 1692, previous to the battle of La Hogue. Cf. Macaulay's *Hist. of England* (cab. edit.), vi. 57. He died in 1714.]

[b] [Lawrence Wright, in 1690-1, was Commander-in-Chief in the West Indies, where a violent quarrel broke out between him and Christopher Codrington, the Governor-General. On his return home, Wright was charged before a court-martial, 20 May 1693, with neglect of duty; but the court, on the evidence brought before it, pronounced the charges malicious and rising out of private resentment. Wright was fully acquitted (*Minutes of the Court-Martial*), but had no further service at sea; though in the reign of Queen Anne he was for some time employed as Resident Commissioner of the Navy at Kinsale.]

[c] On the 5th of June, 1679, Capt. Talbot in the Mary Rose was by orders appointed to be one of the convoys to Newfoundland fishery for the ensuing season, and was to follow such orders as shoud be given him by Capt. Wright, Comander of the Reserve.

[d] See what flag Admirall Herbert had, *i.e.* what admirall he was. [He seems to have had the local rank of vice-admiral under Sir John Narbrough in 1679-80; and in July 1680 to have been appointed admiral and commander-in-chief, presumably with the union flag at the fore and main respectively, as was then usual; but of this there is no distinct record.]

[e] On the 12th of June, 1680, Capt. Blagg, Comander of the Phœnix, had orders

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Johnson, then in that garrison, was in great esteem there, as well as in great friendship with Generall Kirk, who comanded that place, by which means he served very much his two nephews. Mr. Byng, being carried by him to the Generall, he[a] mentioned the ill temper of his captain, desiring to know of the Colonel if he chose to be in the land service; who, acquainting him with his desire of it, and being discharged from the Phœnix on the 10 of May,[b] the Generall made him a cadet in the Grenadiers, till an opportunity offered of advancing him, in which station he did constant duty for 6 months before any thing fell for the Generall to give him. But, on the first vacancy, he appointed him to be ensign in his regiment and to his own company; not making any captain-leftenant, that he might have the advantages and comand of it. Thus, after being about 3 years in the sea service, he was placed under the care and example of one of the greatest soldiers in that time; and, not long after, Colonell Johnson saw his other nephew, John Byng, whom he sent for over, under the same protection; and upon all occasions he prouved a father to them both, especially to the eldest, to which he was the more encouraged as finding him a deligent and active officer, and esteemed in the garrison as one of the best martinetts there, [which gained him every day the good will of the chief officers, tho' not so well beloved by his equalls, either from envy,

to receive on board such soldiers, with their ruggs and billows,[1] as were to be put on board by order of the Comissioners of the Navy, and to be transported by him unto Tangier in company with the Ruby and Guarland. He was likewise to sail to Kingsale with the Ruby and to proceed as above, and then to return to Plymouth.

[a] [sc. the general.]

[b] Capt. Joseph Haddock...George Byng. Ent. 11 July, 1678. Dis...28 Nov. 1678. Swallow...Cap. Thos. Fowler.
Capt. David Loyde .....Do. ..... Ent. 28 Nov. 1678. Dis...9 June, 1679. Reserve...Cap. Lawrence Wright.
Capt. Charles Talbot.....Do. ..... Ent. 9 June, 1679. Dis...8 June, 1680. Mary Rose.
Capt. Wm. Blagg .....Do. ..... Ent. 11 April, 1681. Dis...10 May, 1681. Phœnix.

[1] [? Blankets and bedding.]

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by being so much in the Generall's favour, or from his little conversation with them, endeavouring as much as he coud to be with the chief officers of the garrison.]

To return to the favours Mr. Byng received from Generall Kirk, 1683.
who leaving his own for an elder regiment, he gave him a lieutenant's comision in Charles Churchill's[a] company in the same regiment, then comanded by Colonell Trelawny; tho by being the youngest ensign, all the others were so disatisfied as to represent the injustice that was done them. He had served above two years in the garrison of Tangier, when Genrall Kirk made him lieutenant of a half galley that attended the garrison; and when Captain Mitchell[b] fell sick, he appointed him to command the Deptford ketch, which attended also on the garrison, with a view to make him captain of her on his death. This post he had confirmed by the Lord Dartmouth, who in August came from England with a considerable fleet, being appointed admirall and generall in cheif. When Captain Mitchell dyed, Generall Kirk very strongly pressed the Lord Dartmouth to give Mr. Byng the comission; who excused himself upon the promise he had given to promote his own leftenant; yet offered to make him a lieutenant, tho' he had not yet served in that station at sea, and permit him likewise to keep his comission in the army. But Mr. Byng, being obliged to resign his comand of the Deptford December.
ketch, was very much disapointed and intended to keep to the land service. But he was persuaded to remain in that of the sea [Generall Kirk telling him he was much more likely to get preferment and make his fortune by following the sea]; and Lord Dart- 1684, February
mouth soon complied with his promise by making him lieutenant of the Oxford, commanded by Captain Tyrrell; the fleet then being in the Bay of Bulls not long before it returned from the demolition of Tangiers, on which the garrison had been employed all the winter under the direction of his lordship—who now having the garrison on board returned with the fleet to England; tho', meeting with

[a] [Charles Churchill, a younger brother of John, afterwards Duke of Marlborough.]
[b] [Andrew Mitchell.]

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bad weather, many of the ships seperated; among which was the Oxford, who, making the best of her way to Spithead, got safe there the beginning of Aprill; my Lord, with the rest of the fleet, arriving next day, after near a month's passage in hard gales of wind. The Oxford was ordered to Chatham to be refitted; soon after which, Mr. Byng, who had a comision in Churchill's company of Trelawny's regiment received a new one from his Majesty for the same
May. company called the Dutchess of York's, tho' Trelawney continued in the comand of it; but going again to sea he was excused doing duty in the regiment; for the Oxford company was turned over
June. into the Phœnix then lying at Deptford.

1684, June 24th. At the latter end of June, Capt. Tyrrel had orders to sail into Longreach, then to proceed to the Downs till further orders; so that in July he sailed from thence for the Downs, where he received
July 6. orders on the 6 to proceed to the westward and call at Plymouth, taking under his convoy such ships as shoud be ready to go with him, and forthwith to proceed unto Newfoundland for the security and protection of his Majesty's subjects as should fish there; and at the end of September to take under his convoy such ships as shoud be ready, and see them safe to the severall ports. But when he
August. came to Plymouth, he was very much surprised to find orders to return immediately to the Downs, where he anchored in 3 days after he sailed from thence; and after 3 weeks stay there they sailed
September. to Portsmouth in order to refitt, and then anchored at Spithead; and Capt. Tyrrell having orders to proceed to the East Indies, they
28 November. set sail for those parts on the 28 of November. On the 3^{d} day after
30 „ their departure, they left the Lizard point; and 21 days after made
21 December. the Island of Madera, but passed it by bearing away for Tenerif,
24 „ and made the Pic in 3 days. At this place they lay of for a whole
25 „ day between the town of St. Cruz and Potato Bay, at which last
26 „ place they watered, proceeding on their voyage the next day for
3 January. St. Iago, one of the Verde Islands; and on the 19[a] day after their departure from Tenerif they made the Island of Mayo, standing

[a] [*Sic;* but by the dates in the margin, 9.]

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into the Road without anchoring, and the next day came to an anchor in the Road of Villa di Praya to the eastward of the town of St. Iago 3 leagues, where they were saluted by what English ships lay there. Here they stayed a week and watered the ship, and then proceeded on their voyage, having in company an English ship, which Capt. Tyrell perceiving to be an interloper within the limits of the East India Company, sent the next day Mr. Byng to seize her; who, taking possession of the ship, sent the master and part of the men on board the Phœnix. Continuing their voyage in the great ocean, they had fine weather and a fair wind, which held them till they came near the Line, where they found various and little winds, with thunder and lightning; crossing the Line on the 19th day of their departure from St. Iago, at about 6 degrees to the eastward of that island. They then sailed on with fair weather and fresh gales to the end of March before they made the Cape of Good Hope; which on the 27 of that month they did to their great joy; and, standing in for Saldine Bay,[a] they came the next day at an anchor within it, being eleven weeks since they anchored at St. Iago, and 4 months since they sailed from England. After lying here a week they thought themselves sufficiently refreshed, so at the end of it they set sail again, having provided themselves with water and other necessaries. On the 19 day of their sailing they made the Island of Madagascar, where they came to an anchor in St. Austin's Bay. Staying here but a few days, they proceeded on their voyage; and in the night time, falling in with some small islands in the latitude of 18, they were very much alarmed, and heaving the lead found no more than 15 fathom water; upon which they stood off, soon after finding 30, and afterwards no ground. It being fine weather, Mr. Byng went ashoar to one of the islands, and made observations of the soundings there. The weather continuing fair they soon made Mujotta, one of the Commoree Islands; and the next day Morlia[b] and Johanna, anchoring in the bay of this last, having been a month between the Cape and this island.

4 January.
12 „
30 „
27 March.
3 April.
1685, 23 April
28 April.
3 May.
4 „

[a] [Saldinia, now Table Bay.]

[b] [Mobilla.]

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18 May. Here the Phœnix remained a fortnight, and then sailed in company with the Bristol, which Capt. Tyrrel likewise seized here as an interloper; and on the 10th day of their departure from the Bay
27 „ of Johanna they crossed the Equinoxial Line again, above 3 degrees to the eastward of that island, being near two months since their departure from the Cape, about 4 since they crossed the Line, and 6 since they left England. In the remaining part of their voyage
4 June. to India they had very bad weather, in which the Bristol was in great distress, and, sprinking several leakes, sunk in the sea, notwithstanding the assistance they had from the Phœnix, whose boats saved all the men.

It was a week after this before they made the land of Bombay,
10 „ which was not till the 10th of June, where they anchored the next
11 „ day; and from the bad weather they had been in lately their arrival to the end of so long a voyage was very satisfactory and agreable to them, having been in their passage hither about six months and a fortnight.

Orders 23 November, 1684. The occasion of Capt. Tyrrell's coming into these parts was for the better reducing to due obedience his Majesty's inhabitants of the Island and Fort of Bombay, lately revolted from the government there established by his Majesty, and for the better securing the trade granted by charter to the East India Company against the interlopers complained of by them and against pyrates, which had therefore determined his Majesty to send the Phœnix thither to answer the desires of the Company therein. He was to proceed to Swalley, but being arrived there he was not to go into the port with his ship, but stop at the mouth of the River Surat, and to follow such directions as he should receive from the general or president of the Company residing there for the publick service, the reduction of the Island and Fort of Bombay, for which his ship was only to be employed, and for suporting the trade of the Company against pyrates, or interlopers, or other publick service propper for a ship of war; and as the Company had requested that in case their affaires shoud, in the opinion of the Governor or

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President of Surat, require the service and assistance of the Phœnix in India for a longer time than the monsoons, he was accordingly, upon request signed by him, to remain so much time longer as he shoud desire, not exceeding 12 months. But Capt. Tyrrell was a person very unfit to be sent on such an affair, for his ill nature occasioned many broils while he remained in India; nor did he agree with his officers, and upon some occasion confined Mr. Byng for near a fortnight to his cabbin, placing a centinel at the door; [tho' upon their arrivall at Bombay, he desired they might be friends, and that he would forget what had passed between them and go ashoar together]. Here they lay all the months of June and July, and from the continual rains they did not hawl the ship ashoar for to be cleaned till the beginning of August, and in a month after they got ready to sail. So Mr. Byng having stayed 3 months at Bombay ashoar, they sailed from thence upon a cruise September 3.
to protect the trade from the ships that frequently molested it. „ 19.
As they were plying to windward of Bassin they discovered a ship at anchor, and stood towards her. Upon coming near her, she weighed and stood of from them, upon which the Phœnix gave chace, and she proving to be a Zanganian, a sort of pyratical About 2.
people, they engaged her. They are a desperate people, who neither give or receive any quarter, and drink of a certain drug called bang, that makes them fight with the greater fury; they behaving with much intrepidity and continuing obstinately to defend themselves. Capt. Tyrrell boarded them severall times, but the ship having too much way, he as often missed the oppertunity of entring his men; yet about sun set Capt. Tyrrell boarded her again with near fourscore men, sword in hand, ready to get into her; but having again too much way, Mr. Byng and 11 men only entered. On this attempt, severall of the enemy liped over to swim ashoar, and others run down the hatches, but seeing themselves far from the Phœnix, and so few entered in the ship they attacked them with symiters [with great fury], and, being in greater number, cut the others to pieces, Mr. Byng having allready

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received two very deep cuts on his left side, quite cross his back, thro' a very thick buff belt he had round him; but in that instant the ship sunk downright with them by the shot she had received and set them all to struggle for their lives in another way. [But as Mr. Byng coud not swim he had not an equal chance with the rest] so that he, finding the ship going down and himself in the water, he caught hold of one of the Zinganians by the hair of his head; who strugling to disengage himself, he was apprehensive he woud turn upon him, and by keeping him under water drown him; he therefore quitted his hold and caught at a piece of loose plank, which kept him above water; yet had little hopes of saving his life [having drunk much water, and was so weak that he sank 2 or 3 times] and was near being carried away by the current. But the corporall of the Phœnix, who was at the head of the main mast now upright in shoal water, seeing his leftenant near him in distress, pressed him to quit the plank and part of the wreck near him, and endeavour to get to him, which if he could do might save him. Mr. Byng, seeing no other hopes, forsook it; and by much strugling, with difficulty got within reach of the corporal, who pulled him up; yet remaining with little strength whereby to hold with, his head could scarce be kept above water. Capt. Tyrrell's boat was then in search of Mr. Byng, with directions to take up nobody till they found him and brought him aboard. So it took them both in and carried them to their ship [allmost drowned and their stomaks being full of water were rowled upon a table]. But Mr. Byng was not so sensible of his wounds till he recovered himself, either from being so long in the salt water or so near the danger of being drowned. [The ships boats were employed in taking up the men, which were of the English about 8, of the Zanganians about 40. In this engagement, of the English about 7 were killed and 4 wounded. By their account they had above 60 odd killed and about 20 wounded].[a] The Phœnix then came to

[a] [Cf. Alexander Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, i. 131, where the date is given 1686.]

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an anchor off of Bandora[a] not far from the Sand; the next day they were employed in making good their rigging, and then sailed into Bombay. Here they met with some violent gales of wind, it being the time of breaking up the Elephanta, or westerly moonsoons; but when they were over, and had received on board a recruit of stores, they sailed to Surat with a Comision from Sir John Child, Generall in the Indies to the East India Company. [In their passage they met with another Zanganian, and gave her chace, but she standing into the shoar in shoald water they gave it over] and in 5 day from Bombay they came into the mouth of the river of Surat. In Swale hole [where are several houses built of wood for the conveniency of the merchants] they stayd seven weeks, and Sir John Child was so friendly to Mr. Byng as to keep him at his house all the time of his being there and ill with his wounds. Upon receiving confirmation of the death of King Charles, the Phœnix was put into mourning. She then set sail on a cruise to the westward, towards the Persian Gulph; and the second day made Dieuhead on Guzzerat, and the next day were of Magalora,[b] and the day after made the high land of Purbundera or Surbander; and in 5 days after, the land which they judged to be the westermost point of the Gulph of India. After 12 days they saw 3 sail that bore down upon them, but coming very near, they stood upon a wind, and by their colours two of them were Zinganians, and the other a prise they had taken. The Phœnix continued chasing them, and firing several guns obliged them to cast of their prise and to stand into the shoar, she continuing after them till it was not safe to venture further, then standing for the prise they took her [after sun set] and keeping along the shoar they came to an anchor at night.

1685, September 20.

„ 22.

November 16.

„ 27.

„ 29.

The next morning they found themselves near the entrance of the River Zindii,[c] and the next day they weighed and came to an

1685, November 30.

[a] [On Salsette Island, nine miles north of Bombay.]

[b] [Mangarol.]

[c] ["The river of Sindy would be hard to be found, where it not for the tomb of a Mahometan saint, who has an high tower built over him called Sindy Tower. It is

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December 8. anchor in the road. They soon sailed from hence, standing more
„ 12. to the westward, and in 10 days they made the land of Cape Razal-
„ 17. gate,[a] and then Cape Curiatt;[b] and standing for Muscatt, they made a low island by which they found they had overshot there port; upon which they claped upon a wind and stood in for the shoar,
„ 18. and the next morning they found themselves of the harbour of
„ 23. Muscat, and there came to an anchor, where they watered and staid 5 days, and then sailed to the northward [receiving an account of a ship being in distress off the Island Victoria]; and afterwards
„ 30 stood to the eastward, and after a weeks sailing came into Zindii
1686, January 2. Road, where they staid 2 days; then sailing for Surat with 2 English ships under their convoy. Four days after their departure they made Gygot;[c] and 2 days after they fell in with 2 boats, taking one of them. They were informed by the people in her that the other was a Zinganian that had taken and plundered them, and in which was near 100 people going to worship at Gygot. The Phœnix persued the other boat into the shoar, but it proving little wind, Capt. Tyrrell sent Mr. Byng after her in his boat well armed, who found her on shoar within a mile of Putania[d] Town, and, not being able to get her off, plundered and burnt her [then returned to] the Phœnix, [who] kept on her course to the eastward. That evening they came off Diuhead, then made the best of her way, having the high land of St. John's in sight at 5 leagues distance, and on the
„ 11. 11 of January came into the mouth of the River Surat, and turning up [in thro' the ships] came to anchor in the evening, after being 2 months on their cruise to the westward. They were here 7 weeks when the Blessing, an English ship, came in from Siam; and Capt.

always kept white to serve as a landmark. . . . This is only a small branch of Indus, which appellation is now lost in this country . . . and is called Divellee, or Seven Mouths." Hamilton's *New Account of the East Indies*, i. 129. No branch of the river now bears this distinctive name; and the white tower is not mentioned in the *Sailing Directions*.]

[a] [Ras al Hadd.] [b] [Karyat.]

[c] [Now Dwarka. See *West Coast of Hindostan Pilot* (1880), p. 222.]

[d] [Patan.]

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Tyrrel, having intelligence that she was an interloper, ordered Mr. Byng, with all the boats well armed and mann'd, to seize her. He accordingly fell down the river with the tyde in the night time, made no use of oars not to give any allarm, but with silence coming with the stream along side of her, claped her on board so suddenly they had no time to betake themselves to their arms or to defend her. They soon got possession of the deck, but the captain of her was so obstinate and unruly that Mr. Byng had him bound, and so sent him to Capt. Tyrrell. The next day he brought the ship up to the Phœnix. There being effects in her of several merchants of different nations, and particularly of the Indians, it made a great noise, and gave them much trouble; so that an Admiralty Court was held in order to proceed to tryal; which when the people of the town found was like to go against them, they had Mr. Byng stop'd [on a day when he was] at Surat [with the Phœnix's barge], and was refused to be delivered unless the Blessing was restored; so that Capt. Tyrrel, hearing the Governor (of the Indians) had detained him, weighed immediately, and stoped all the ships that were bound into port, which obliged him to send back Mr. Byng with the barge. Soon after the Blessing was condemned, and then Mr. Byng hoisted the King's colours, having been in her from the time she was seized. Soon after Capt. Tyrrell sailed from Surat, where they had been 4 months, the Blessing being delivered to the mate of the Phœnix the same day they sailed. Their course was to the southward, and in 5 days anchored at Bombay, and, hawling into Matzagen, lay 4 months in refitting. [Sir John Wybourn was then Governor of the place, who arriving here in May with his family, who were of Mr. Byng's acquaintance, enlivened the place very much by frequently promoting all entertainments at his house.] They then sailed to Surat with Mr. Zinzan, the late Deputy Governor of Bombay, and were a week in their passage. They remained at Surat all the 3 following months, and to the 9 of January. There was great misunderstandings between Sir John Child and Capt. Tyrrell, which began with his arrivall, and lasted

1686, May 17

„ 21.

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all the time of his stay in India [tho' very much to his disadvantage]. It was about this time that General Child was breaking with the great Mogull, and woud have begun by seising on their trading ships, and was desirous that Capt. Tyrrell woud stay and join with him in it by going on that service; but Tyrrell, suspecting he had private views, woud not come into his measures, but prepared to return home, which he was the more impatient to do from his bad health in this country [which he was weary off], and meeting but with indifferent reception from his own behaviour, which had much disconcerted the generall in his views [but news was brought him of Capt. Tyrrell's death, who had layn ill ashoar.] Mr. Byng was at the generall's when Capt. Tyrrell's death was reported; he acquainted him that, as the command of the ship was by his death devolved on him, he woud advance his fortune [if he woud be wiser than his captain]; he told him that Tyrrell had orders to remain with his ship in India [for one year] if he pleased, provided the expence of it was at the charge of the Company. Then, in confidence, he communicated to him his designs of breaking with the Mogull, as being necessary to bring him to reason, which nothing woud sooner do than seizing the Mocca fleet, about that time expected home, immensely rich, which was to be executed with great ease by way-laying them at the streights they must pass; [with which Mr. Byng was well pleased, and at the thought he had lost his captain, who using him very ill, had made him allmost resolve to quit him and return to England]. He was [now happy, and] resolved to join with the generall in a scheme so very advantageous [to himself], and with Sir John Child's designs, from whom he had received the greatest civility and perticular marks of friendship. It was concluded to go on this expedition immediately, before the Mogol could have suspicion of their intentions to break with him. This was no sooner agreed on, and Mr. Byng going to take possession of the ship, when they were greatly disapointed by hearing that [good] news of Capt. Tyrrell's death contradicted; for tho' he had been very ill he grew better, and as soon as he possibly

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coud, went on board, resolving to sail for England. When he left the place to go on board he received none of the usuall honours even due to his rank, for he was the second in all councills, and bore the union flag, given him by Sir John Child at his first arrivall. At which he was the more mortified by seeing those honours paid to his leftenant which shoud have been shewn to himself. For Mr. Byng, upon taking his leave of Sir John Child and going off, was attended by the councill and factory in their coaches [and by the guard], down to the water side, and all the respect shewn him that due to his captain [with which he was much picked, and even against Mr. Byng at it. This voyage prouved not of that advantage to him as he might have made it; for, refusing to join with Sir John Child in seizing the Mocca fleet, the Company fitted out some ships of their own, and without resistance seized on allmost every one of that fleet; by which the captors got great wealth. Nor woud he suffer his officers to make any private advantage they had oppertunities of doing.]

In the beginning of the year 1687 the Phœnix sailed from Surat where she had been 3 months. Before she sailed directly for England they stood to the southward, to look for 4 ships that lay off St. Johns and had comitted robberies under severall colours. The Generall sent an English, French, and Dutch ship with her, to bring back an account of them, in order to clear those nations from the imputations that lay upon them. Coming of the high land of St. Johns they made 4 sail, which the Phœnix giving chace to came up [with. They said they belonged to the King of Denmark, but it being in the evening they were required to come to an anchor till the next morning, when Left. Byng was sent to see their orders and comissions, and found them so; upon which they saluted the Phœnix, and Capt. Tyrrell dispatched away the nationall ships to Surat with the account of them; and] then standing for Bombay came there to an anchor; and after 2 days stay sailed to the southward for Goa, and in 4 days arrived at that place, where the Phœnix stayed about 5 days, and departing hence stood on their course

1687, January 9.

„ 20.

„ 25.

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homeward, inclining to the south west; and in 3 weeks came under
February 13. the Line; and in 3 weeks more they made the Island of Diego
March 6. Rays,[a] and hawling up with the land, the better to make it, they bore
April 3. south west again, and in about more made the Cape of Good Hope; a little time before which they had compared their reckonings, and found the ship was not so far by 100 leagues as they had reckoned, which considerable mistake they imputed to their meridian compass[b] differing from the azimuth. They continued their voyage without anchoring here, and, taking their departure from the Table
„ 6. Land at 12 leagues distance, they stood to the northward, and after
„ 25. 19 days sail made the Island of St. Helena; and, saluting the fort as they came in, anchored in Chappel Valley, being the first place they touched at since their leaving India, which was 3 months. At
May 9. St. Helena they stayed a fortnight, and, after sailing from hence, in
„ 16. a week they made the Island of Ascension, where they staid 4 days;
„ 19. and, leaving this place, in a week more they crossed the Equinoxial Line, being 7 weeks after their departure from the Cape, 3 months ½ since they crossed the Line before, and 4 months after leaving Goa. After they had crossed the Line they inclined their course to the
July 10. westward, and in six weeks 3 days made Corvo, one of the Western Islands. When they found themselves in the latitude of 49 degrees, upon sounding they had 80 fatham water, so they reckoned them-
„ 23. selves then about 17 leagues from Scilly, and the next day they
„ 24. accordingly made those islands, and by night the Lizard Point; and the day after came to anchor in Plymouth Sound, where they found the Duke of Grafton with a squadron of men of war carrying over
„ 30. the Queen of Portugal to Lisbon. A week after they sailed for the river, and meeting with 2 Holland men of war fired at them, to
August 8. make them strike, and was saluted by them both. When they came into the river, they lay there severall days before they went up to Deptford, where she lashed to the hulk, the ship's company being

[a] [Rodriguez.]
[b] [Now called the binnacle compass.]

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ordered up there to receive their pay, after being on this voyage 2 years and 8 months.[a]

Mr. Byng soon after his arrivall went to wait on Sir Josiah Child, [and to repay some mony Sir John had lent him, for what mony he had got was left in England,] by whose assistance he improuved what he had borrowed of him in India. Sir Josiah received him with great civility, and, tho' young, pressed him to accept of one of the Company's ships and return thither (for he had the cheif direction of the Company's affaires). But Mr. Byng declined it, as being bred up in the King's service, yet retained a gratefull sense of the civilities he had received. The Phœnix being paid off, he went to his duty in the land service, in Trelawny's regiment, as leftenant to Capt. Churchill, now in their quarters at Bristol. 1688. February.

In the beginning of the year he had the misfortune to loose his mother, who died at Sir John Hewett's, at Wartley, in Huntingdonshire. She was the daughter of Mr. Johnson, of Loans,[b] in Surry. [He had so much loyalty for the royall family, under whom he was ranger of St. James Park, that he resolved never to cut off his beard till the return of it.] She was a person of great spirit and good sense. When she became a widow, was with great kindness received at Wartley, where she had retired the remainder of her life, and was buried in that church, failing (tho' not in advanced years) by a consumptive disposition.

In the spring a squadron was fitted out, and Sir Roger Strickland appointed to command it [for the present]. Mr. Byng was then down at his quarters at Bristol, when Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, and who under the King had the chief management of the navy, sent for him up without sollicitation, in order for his going to sea as captain-leftenant[c] to Sir Roger; being what he had

[a] [On 12th April, 1692, the Phœnix, then commanded by Captain Banks, was driven ashore on the coast of Spain and burnt, to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands.—*Minutes of the Court Martial*, 9 July, 1692.]

[b] The gate at New Richmond Park is called Loans Gate, and the house by it Loans Farm. Q. Itt being Loan Parish.

[c] [Now styled flag captain.]

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May. requested of the King for him, but whose engagements to another prevented him therein; so that he had commission to be leftenant of the Mordaunt, commanded by Capt. Ashby,[a] with whom he lived with great confidence and friendship, [and had that trust in Mr. Byng that he left the management of the ship from the time he first went on board]. She was of Sir Roger Strickland's squadron,

June 7. lying in Queenbro' Swale, who in the beginning of June sailed into the Downs with 9 men of war and 4 fireships, in persuance of orders dated the 28 of May, and was there to attend further orders; and on the 18 of June he had directions to send 2 small nimble frigots to cruise 6 or 8 days about the back of the Goodwin Sand and 2 of the like sort about Orfordness; and as they returned, to be sent back again or others in their room, for to look out and endeavour to speak with all ships passing those ways, and give what intelligence they coud of the number, force, and motion of the ships of any foreign prince or state, and other occurences fit for his Majesties knowledge, which he was to communicate by the quickest conveyances, by the hands of the secretary of the Admiralty; for a fleet at this time fitting out in Holland had alarmed the Court, and so these scouts were sent over to observe the States' motions. Sir Roger Strickland received also other orders dated the 2^{d} of July to proceed with the ships of his squadron to Solebay, there to continue 8 or 10 days, and then to return into the Downs; but was to leave 2 ships in the Downs to answer any occasion the service might require; and for the ships cruising off of the Goodwin Sands and of of Orfordness to continue on that service. He called a council of war, and put these orders in execution by sailing with the fleet, consisting now of 20 ships, of of Solebay and Orfordness. When the fleet came back to the Noare, King James with the Prince of Denmark went down the river there, to view and consult with the flags and other officers, what was most advisable to be done to intercept the Prince of Orange, whose designs were now

[a] [Afterwards Admiral Sir John Ashby; died 1693.]

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known, but not in what part of the kingdom he intended to land. The King went on board most of the ships in the fleet, not only to view their condition but likewise to ingratiate himself with the officers and seamen, behaving with great affability and taking notice of every perticular officer. Sir Roger Strickland went again July 22.
off of Orfordness and then to the Downs. Here he received „ 31.
instructions from the King,[a] dated the 22 of August, who was August 22.
acquainted of the great aplication of the States of the United Provinces for encreasing their navall force then at sea, by the adition of a considerable number of their greater ships; and as he thought it behooved him to prevent as much as might be any evill that might be intended thereby to the government and the trade of the subject, that the admirall with the other comanders of the ships under his charge be without delay advertised of it, he did to that purpose dispatch an express, that upon receipt of it, to put in execution whatever he shoud (with the advice of such comanders as he shoud call to his assistance) judge expedient, for the ships to attend the motions of those of the States as shoud be most for the service. To which end, tho' he relyed so much on his approuved diligence, integrity, valour, and experience in maritime affaires, that he entirely comited the whole conduct of them in all emergencies to his sole discretion and direction, yet he conceaved it not unuseful (without constraint) to recomend to him in his proceedings therein the following considerations: 1st, 2 ships, to be changed once a week, might be always kept cruising of of Orfordness, to make an early discovery of the approach and motions of the ships of the States; 2dly, the like between the Goodwin Sands and Calais for preventing the States' ships passing by undiscovered to the westward; 3dly, that upon his being advertised of the Dutch ships being come out to sea and of their motion there, it might be advisable (which way soever they bend, wether to the northward, down the Channell, into the river or towards the Downs) that with

[a] [The text of these instructions is given by Burchett, *Transactions at Sea*, p. 408.]

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his squadron he gets under sail, and quitting the Downs either by the North or South Foreland, according to his discretion, endeavour to follow them; so as allways, if possible, to keep between them and their home; and in case of their attempting to make any descent by landing of men upon any of our coasts, to proceed to hostility upon them, for preventing or interupting them as much as may be in such attempts; and he was directed to dispatch frequent accounts of the proceedings of the Dutch to the secretary of the Admiralty for his Majesty's information.

Sir Roger Strickland, being thus instructed, it may not be amiss to mention the strength of the squadron and what ships were ordered te be got in a readiness to join him, they being as follows:

Number and rates of ships which were with Sir Roger Strickland to intercept the Dutch fleet:

Rate:—		
3	1	26
4	16	
5	3	
6	2	
fireships	4	

Ordered to be fitted out to join him:—

3	10	35
4	11	
6	1	
fireships	13	
In all		61

Besides six tenders which were to be employed as scouts.

Sir Roger Strickland found the ships he had with him were ill-manned, and there being but little prospect of a speedy supply of seamen, he desired some soldiers to be sent on board to make up the deficiency, which was done, but not so soon as the nature of the service required.

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He advised likewise with the most experienced officers of his squadron and communicated to them the contents of his instructions; who were of opinion with himself that they ought, when victualed, to sail to the Buoy of the Gunfleet, on this side Harwich, since they might sooner gain intelligence there of the motions of the Dutch, than by staying in the Downs; for with westerly winds it might be five or six days before the scouts of of Orfordness coud ply it up; whereas the squadron might sooner put to sea from the Gunfleet upon notice that the Dutch were come out. But if this proposal shoud not be approved by the King, he proposed that one or two of the scouts shoud sail directly to the coast of Holland to make discoveries there, whilst he at the same time woud send two of his cleanest ships off of Orfordness for that purpose. Soon after the King received this proposition, he signified his disaproval of it; for it seems the King acquaints him in the orders he sent him on the 27th, that his letter of the 24 having been communicated to him by the Secretary of the Admiralty, wherein he submits to his Majesties judgment the resolution, whereto himself and other officers had come to, upon a debate about going with the squadron under his comand to the Buoy of the Gunfleet and there to ride, rather than in the Downs; and having considered of that proposition, and the same debated with severall most experienced comanders and masters, was fully satisfied that it was not at that time in any wise convenient for the service; since the Gunfleet was not only at that time of the year a very ill road; but that if the wind came easterly, he woud be liable to be driven by the Dutch up the river, which of all things was to be avoided; that therefore he conceived it best that as soon as the wind came easterly, to go out of the Downs, bringing his squadron between the North Sands Head and the Kentish Knock; there to continue under sail the day time, and to an anchor in the night, if it was fair weather, and if it shoud over blow, and the Dutch not appear, then to go by the back of the Goodwin, to Bulloign Bay, there to ride so long as it shoud over blow; that was till he shoud have heard that the

August 27, 1688.

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Dutch were either passed down the Channell or gone up the river; in the former of which case it would be expedient he followed them, as far as between the Lizard and Scilly; and then (if he found them to proceed further on) he was to come back to St. Hellens or Spithead, as he shoud judge most for the service. But if they bent their course into the river, then he was to endeavour to return by the back of the Goodwin and follow them, seeking to get to windward of them; and for the rest to do what in his judgment he shoud think most for the service. But so soon as the wind came westerly, and none of those cases hapened, his advice and direction in such case was that he went back to the Downs, not doubting but that the ships woud be in as fair a way of collecting men there as at the Gunfleet; it being to be understood that (according to the express letter of the warrant sent him to that purpose) the same was not in any wise to be attempted by pressing, till he had certain tydings of the Dutch fleet being come forth; nor then neither, but upon the ships homeward bound, and those only; and with the caution in such case expressed in the warrant. And as 6 smacks was proposed to be employed on this occasion as scouts for intelligence and woud be ready to proceed towards him on the next day at farthest, he put them under his direction so to distribute and employ, with some one intelligent person by him to be put on board each, as might best conduce to his having as speedy and perfect information of the then postures of the Dutch ships upon their own coasts, and a constant and thorough knowledge of their motion when at sea, that he might receive the like satisfactory information from him.

His Majesties directions for Sir Roger Strickland, Rear Admirall of England, to proceed rather to Bulloign Bay than the Gunfleet, was founded upon a solemn debate held on that affair the day before, being Sunday, August 26, in his Majesties closet at Windsor, with the following persons specially sumoned from London to attend his Majesty (the Lord Dartmouth and Mr. Pepys being present): Sir John Berry, with 3 Elder Brothers of Trinity House, Capt. Atkin-

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son, Capt. Mudd, and Capt. Butter, as also Capt. Clements, being all brought by Sir John Berry.

In the midle of September Capt. Ashby received a commission to command the Defyance, and Mr. Byng another to be his 1st leftenant on board her; they leaving the Mordaunt in the Downs, repairing to their ship at Chatham, were severall were fitting out; and King James went up the river Medway to see himself in what readiness they and the fortifications were in; for he was very pressing, upon the advice he had received that the Dutch lay off the Goree ready to sail. The Defyance soon got ready and sailed down to the Nore, joyning Sir Roger Strickland who was just come to an anchor there with the fleet, and had hoisted the union flag at the foretop masthead as Vice Admirall of the present expedition. The same day came down the Earl of Dartmouth, appointed Admirall to command in chief of the fleet, with instructions dated the 1 Oct^r. 1688, from King James,[a] who therein takes notice of his having received undoubted advice of a great and sudden invasion from Holland with an armed force of foreigners and strangers woud be speedily made in an hostille manner upon the kingdom, and declares his pleasure That all necessary orders being by him issued for the hasting out the severall ships and vessells then fitting out in the rivers Thames and Medway and at Portsmouth, together with those at sea under the comand of Sir Roger Strickland, Vice Admirall of the fleet, to their intended rendezvous at the Buoy of the Nore (a perfect list of all which he sends annexed), the King directs him to go on board the Resolution or such other ship as he shoud think fit; which fleet (relying entirely on his approuved loyalty, valour, circumspection, and experience) he did authorise and impower to lead, and by his orders to direct and dispose of at all times and in all emergencies, as in his discretion he shoud judge most conducing to his honour and the security of his dominions; and perticularly in preventing the approach of any fleet or number

September 15.

„ 19

October 2.

Q. this flag.

[a] [For the text of these instructions, see Burchett, p. 412.]

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of ships of war from Holland upon any of our coasts, or making any descent on them. Towards the effectual execution of which he did further empower and require him to endeavour, by all hostille means, to sink, burn, take, or otherwise destroy and disable the Dutch fleet, when and wheresoever he should meet with, or otherwise think fit to look out for and attack them. The following list of ships was annexed to the foregoing instructions:—

Rate.	Ship's Names.	Where.
3	Mary	Coming to the Nore with Sir Roger Strickland.
	Montague	
	Assurance	
4	Jersey	
	Constant Warwick	
	Bristol	
	Nonsuch	
4	Crown	Do.
	Dover	
	Mordaunt	
	Greenwich	
	Tyger	
	Bonadventure	
6	Lark	
fireships	Sally Rose	
	Half Moon	
	St. Paul.	
yatchs	3	In the river.
	Sophia	In Longreach.
	Speedwell	
	Elizabeth and Sarah	
	Cignet	
	Charles	
	Roebuck	
4	Antelope	

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Rate.	Ship's Names.	Where.
4	St. Albans . .	At Deptford.
	Swallow. . .	
4	Foresight . .	At the Nore.
	Deptford . .	Off of Orfordness.
fireship	Dartmouth . .	
4	Faulcon. . .	Coming to the Nore from Yarmouth.
fireship	Sampson . .	
6	Sadadoes . .	In the Downs.

Ships fitting out.

3	Defyance . .	At Blackstakes.
	Resolution . .	
	Henrietta . .	
	Cambridge . .	At Chatham.
	Elizabeth . .	
	Pendenis . .	
4	Newcastle . .	
	Woolwich . .	
3	Rupert . . .	In the Hope.
	York . . .	At Portsmouth.
	Dreadnought . .	
	Plymouth . .	
fireships	Pearl . . .	
	Richmond . .	
	Charles and Harry .	
	Unity . . .	
4	Advice . . .	At Spithead.
	Diamond . .	
	Ruby . . .	

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Rate.	Ship's Names.	Where.
4	St. David . .	In Longreach.
	Centurion . .	
	Portsmouth . .	
6	Firedracke . .	
fireships	Guardland . .	
	Guernsey . .	
	Swann . . .	

Abstract.

3 . .	14	
4 . .	24	
6 . .	2	
fireships .	18	Most of which were made so from 5th rates.
yatchs .	3	
	61,	of which 38 were of the line of battle.

His Lordship remained 3 weeks with the fleet at the Nore; and
October 24. then judging it most propper to lye off of the Gunfleet, he therefore sailed with it thither.

Here my Lord Dartmouth called a councill of warr; when it was proposed, and much insisted on by some, that the fleet shoud go over to the coastt of Holland and there wait the motions of the Dutch. But this proposition had no effect; for tho' the great number of captains were steady in their principals for the King, yet the chiefest and most considerable of them were otherwise inclined, and were in frequent meetings and cabals at this time. By their management, they brought over a majority of the councill to think
October. it was hazarding the fleet to lye on that dangerous coast at this time of the year; and therefore much better to remain where they were, sending some frigats over to observe the Dutch fleet. So that to this opinion the council adhered; and the fleet only

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removouved without the Shipwash, Lord Dartmouth sending 3 frigatts to observe them. This was a point artfully gained by those that were industrious to possess the fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange, and in ridiculing all the measures taken to prevent his designs.

The captains they were most desirous of bringing over to their party were Ashby and Woolfrid Cornwall,[a] both of them zealous for the King, and had great credit in the fleet; it was therefore agreed that Mr. Byng shoud brake it to them; for, Ashby being his captain, he had a perticular regard for him; and Cornwall was his most intimate friend. Mr. Byng himself had been early entrusted with what was then doing; for at a meeting in London where the Duke of Ormond, Generall Kirk, Capt. Aylmer,[b] and others, were consulting on the designs then on foot, and upon mentioning who of the fleet coud be trusted, Kirk had recommended Mr. Byng as a person he woud answer for, and Capt. Aylmer was to acquaint him with it; which he did as they went down to the fleet in the beginning of October, trusting himself with him upon Generall Kirk's assurances of his faithfulness to them. Mr. Byng replied that Mr. Kirk should lose no honour by what he sayd; assured him he would not betray them; desired to consider about joining with them; and finding by further discourse that Generall Kirk, Mr. Russell, and other perticular persons were going over to the Prince of Orange, he then became willing to agree in their undertaking, and from that time was entrusted by them. [Yet Mr. Byng, believing he had not influence enough with his captain in an affair of that importance, left it to be done by Mr. Aylmer; so put them together in the cabin, when he show'd Capt. Ashby the

[a] [Wolfran Cornewall, died in 1719. His nephew, Charles Cornewall, was Vice-Admiral and second in command under Byng in the action off Cape Passaro in 1718, and grandfather of Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker of the House of Commons 1780-9.]

[b] [Matthew, afterwards Lord Aylmer, at this time Captain of the Swallow; died, Admiral of the Fleet and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain, in 1720.]

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necessity of joining with the Prince; but] Ashby was not soon prevailed on, replying that in their profession they were not taught to turn against the King; [and gave no direct answer, desiring time to consider of it]. But after some discourse with Mr. Byng alone, and upon his telling him that he knew the dispositions of the most considerable persons in the fleet, and shewing the necessity there was to free themselves from popish oppression, he then yielded so far as to become a well wisher to the cause. Mr. Cornwall was more difficult to be persuaded, from [his violence of temper and zeal for the King; and none but his most intimate friend coud undertake to mention it to him]; and in their discourse, Cornwall expressed the obligations of himself and family to the King, and thought it a villany in those who attempted anything against him. But when Mr. Byng named some persons that were engaged in it that was his most intimate and perticular friends [as Mr. Herbert, Kirk, Russell, &c. he was confounded, and upon his further naming a captain of the fleet who was a most intimate friend of his, and of whom he had the best opinion of as a very rightous person, he was surprised; but being told so by himself as they were at supper at night, here met for that purpose] he gave up his zeal for the King; and from that time no man was more heartily in the cause, using his endeavour to bring over severall in his own ship; and continued heartily attached to the Revolution principles to the day of his death.

On the 20 October, the Dutch fleet, consisting of 52 men of warr, 25 frigots, as many fireships, and near 400 vessells for transportation of 3,500 horse and 10,600 foot, sailed from the flatts near the Brill, with the wind S.W.S.;[a] the Prince himself in a frigot of 30 guns. The fleet was under sail when, the wind coming more westerly, there arose such a violent storm in the night, which continued with so much fury for 12 hours that they were forced to return to Helvoetsluice or put into other harbours without much loss, tho' it was aggravated even by themselves.

[a] [S.W. by S.]

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While the fleet lay off the Shipwash by the Gunfleet, with their yards and topmasts down, in a hard gale at E.S.E., the Dutch fleet passed by them, making the best of their way to the westward; and tho' it was foggy weather, yet 6 of their ships were within sight of the English fleet early that morning; upon which they got up their yards and topmasts, and 3 ships sliped immediately and plied to discover them, and soon after made the signal of seeing the enemy's fleet. But Lord Dartmouth coud not stir with his, not only from the lee tyde, but the wind blew hard and contrary for him to persue them, which kept him at an anchor all that day and night, while it favoured the Dutch fleet, carrying them into Torbay. The next day Lord Dartmouth sailed with the English fleet [consisting of 28 men of warr and 12 fireships] standing after that of the Dutch. It was well known that my Lord was to follow them; so there was a meeting of such captains as were inclined to the Prince, to consult what measures they shoud take upon coming up with the enemy. Some of them were of opinion that if my Lord attacked them, that in honour they shoud do their duty against them. But the [general] opinion, to which they agreed, was upon such an occasion to leave him, [and to ranger themselves on the other side].[a] When the fleet was off of Beachy Head my Lord brought to, and called a council of war, to have the opinions of the captains of the fleet, if in case they met with the Dutch they shoud fight them; which was so managed, that the result of it was not to fight them if in honour it coud be avoided. But the fleet was scarce got 8 leagues to the westward of Beachy Head when the wind changed in the night, and blew a hard westerly gale, which obliged my Lord to bear away for the Downes; where he was no sooner come to an anchor that evening, but he received the account of the Prince of Orange having landed with his army.

1688. November 3.

November 4.

„ 5.

„ 6.

„ 7.

The fleet had remained 9 days in the Downes, when Lord Dartmouth sailed again to the westward with 30 men of warr and 18

„ 16.

„ 18.

[a] [Cf. Burchett, 414.]

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November 20-22. fireshipps; but when he came off of Portland they met with such bad weather as seperated and forced them back into S^t^. Helens and Spithead; which perhaps was from want of skill; for it is thought they might have stretched over and got to windward, as did the Defiance within sight of Alderney; and Capt. Ashby finding himself on the French coast, he was inclined to carry over his ship to the Prince. He was standing on our coast to look for the Dutch fleet, when meeting with Sir Roger Strickland, he coud not avoid going with him into Spithead. When the fleet was here and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, those of the fleet who were well inclined to him thought it time to shew themselves, and even some that were timorous and silent hitherto; at a meeting they had, they determined to send him a message, and to assure his highness of their assistance and readiness to obey his orders. This was to be done in secrecy, and by word of mouth; and Mr. Byng was to undertake to execute this message, and to this purpose first address himself to Mr. Russell, who came with the Prince from Holland. Accordingly Mr. Byng obtained leave of Lord Dartmouth to be absent, on pretence of going [to a relation] into Huntingdonshire, upon affairs that very much concerned him. He then landed at Gosport, and, disguising himself like a farmer, set out to meet the Prince of Orange. Upon the road he was in some danger from a party of the Earl of Oxford's regiment of horse, who made up to him, for from the general acquaintance he had with the officers of that regiment, had he been carried before them he had been discovered, but, from the meanness of his habit, they did not mistrust him. [When he got to Salisbury, his horse was so tyred that he went to the post house, where he lay, the weather being to bad to proceed then further; and, being furnished with another horse, left that place, tho' he was surprised when, as he was going, the postmaster told him he mistrusted him, and shewed him a warrant to stop all such persons as he suspected carrying to the Prince; but they prouved to be in the same interest.] When he was come within 10 miles of the Prince's

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quarters he stop'd at a place to bait (near Dorchester); where siting in his disguise [in the chymney corner of the common room], Colonell Rooke's servant, knowing him, conducted him [up a back pair of stairs] into a room where he was surprised to find his uncle Colonell Johnson, Colonell Rooke, and several of his acquaintance; they having left King James army, and had just come from the Prince of Orange; [and the like woud have done Generall Kirk, had not his] intentions been discovered; who was to have gone off with severall others the night he comanded an out brigade; yet by a stratagem he deceived Generall Scarsfield, who was sent by King James with a guard to seize him that night. After expressing their joy to meet there, Mr. Byng desired of them to procure him a guide, and so left them and went on [in a very dark night; and coming into a hollow way], he was stoped by a party of men who examined him very closely; and one of the officers, suspecting he knew his voice, desired to know his true name, and if it was not Byng; who desiring to discover his, and it proving to be Colonell Wingfield, who was with Villars, two perticular acquaintances of his that were with a party of the Prince of Orange's horse, he was glad to find who they were and discovered himself to them.

The Prince of Orange had passed Exeter on his way to Salisbury, and was at the Earl of Bristol's house at Sherbourn when Mr. Byng came to him. The first person he met with that knew him was my Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark; and from the stair head asked him what he did there. Mr. Byng desired he woud ask no questions, but carry him to a private room where he might see Mr. Russell; who coming to him, he acquainted him with his message, and was then by him conducted to the Prince of Orange, all the company there retiring, except Mr. Russell; and he then delivered to his Highness the message from the officers of the fleet, naming those who had engaged themselves to assist him; [which was very wellcome to him, and] the Prince expressed great satisfaction at such wellcome assurances, received Mr. Byng with [great] civility and promised him, if he succeeded, 1688. November 28.

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he would take care particularly to remember him. He sent him back with an answer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, to acquaint him of the necessity of his coming over, and of his intentions to continue him at the head of the fleet; with promises that Admirall Herbert (between whom there was some variance) should not be advanced over him. This letter the Prince advised Mr. Byng to put into the stuffing of his saddle, least in case he was seized it shoud not be found upon him; but he thought it best to quilt it in the rowlers of his breeches. So Mr. Byng, taking his leave, returned safely to the fleet again. There was some difficulty how to give this letter to Lord Dartmouth, whose zeal to the King was well known; and therefore Mr. Aylmer undertook it, and one morning took an oppertunity privately to lay it upon his toilett. This letter had some effect on him, for from that time he seemed inclinable to the Prince's party, though his real thoughts coud no ways agree with the measures then taken; yet he was terryfied at the disposition of the nation and the fleet, that he thought it to no purpose to oppose them, and knew not what might be the consequences to himself, since the Prince of Orange advanced with such success, and all the people were daily rising against the King. He was the more cautious in his behaviour, from a deseign that was discovered to seize him on board the [a] commanded by Capt. Hastings who had invited him to dinner for that purpose, in which case they intended to give the command of the fleet to the Duke of Grafton. But Capt. Davy Lloid [b] [a strick plain man] who had found himself neglected by his old friends, and from the favour he was in with the King's party, having knowledge of it discovered their design to Lord Dartmouth; by which means he avoided their puiting it in execution, by excusing himself from going. He continued in great doubts how to behave with regard to the Prince's party in the fleet; and to act according to his principles and consistant with his duty to the King; [yet an

[a] [Blank in MS. Anthony Hastings was at this time Captain of the Woolwich.]
[b] [David Lloyd, see *ante*. p. 3.]

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address being at this time (I think at a council of warr) draw'd up for the meeting of a free parlement, he coud not avoid signing it] seeing himself in the power of those of the other party, and not able to refuse his assistance in an attempt of the most dangerous consequence. For the young Prince of Wales had been brought down to Portsmouth, to go in a yatch to France with Sir Roger Strickland; which being known to severall captains of the fleet, they were resolved to seize him; and, representing to Lord Dartmouth the consequence it might be to himself to suffer his escape, when the nation was in confusion and the government unsettled, they obliged him to give orders to Capt. Aylmer, Hastings, and Shovell,[a] to intercept the yatchs as they shoud come out of Portsmouth, in case he shoud escape Capt. Cornwall and Mr. Byng who were appointed to go with armed boats to wait his coming off, [and who were then to go on board one of the yatchs, whose captain they carried orders to from Lord Dartmouth to obey them, and with which they were] to lay that yacht on board, where the Prince of Wales shoud be; and in case of resistance these 3 ships were ready [to give their assistance to] take him, in case he escaped from them. Upon this design Capt. Cornwall and Mr. Byng was employed, taking it by turns each night to remain in the armed boat, while the other remained in the town to get intelligence of the time of his going of; apointing a place to confer at upon occasion over the town wall. At the time Capt. Cornwall was in town, he observed a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's house, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the staires going to embark; [and the captain of the yatch going in haste to the seaside, he joined him to learn from him some intelligence; but getting none from him, he returned to the house,] where he found the Duke of Powis's[b] (Governor of the town) his coach and six horses at the door; and approaching them in the dark, felt their leggs, which he found dry; which made him conclude it was not a coach

[a] [Afterwards Admiral Sir Clowdisley Shovell.]

[b] [The title became extinct on his death in 1696.]

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come in but going out of town. He was surprised [at this, and went to the wall to acquaint Mr. Byng with it, who had just come from his boat, waiting on the other side to acquaint him with what he had observed; and then returning back,] found an end of the enterprise, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London; [tho] they were nigh succeeding, since all the baggage and necessarys for the child were then on board, and he certainly upon the point of going off.

This was a great disappointment to those who had projected the design; yet they afterwards thought their zeal had carried them beyond their policy, and that they were fortunate by their ill success in such an attempt; since there being possessed of the Prince's person must [have occasioned the greatest difficulties] and perplexed the affaires then in hand; [and perhaps not unfortunate for Capt. Cornwall and Mr. Byng, since their attempt might have prouved more dangerous than they expected, by the yatch having on board several grenadiers]. It is thought this discovery was made by Lord Dartmouth, who coud neither avoid giving the orders he did, nor suffer them to be put in execution; and that, by giving notice of it to the King, the Prince might escape. Upon Mr. Byng's return to the fleet he was much disapointed to find my Lord Dartmouth had failed in his promise of making him a captain on the first opportunity, by giving a 6th rate, that was become vacant in his absence, to another; which made resolve to leave the service and to ask my Lord's leave to go ashoar to his command there; but neither my Lord's excuses, or his sending Admirall Carter[a] to disuade him from it, and the offer of a fireship from which he woud have taken post, at that time coud prevail with him, thinking the injury doue him very great. However, he saw it end to their satisfaction by a remouve that was then made, in which my Lord gave him a commission to be captain of the Constant Warwick, a 4th rate ship.

1688, December 22.

[a] [Richard Carter, at this time Captain of the Plymouth. He did not become rear-admiral till January 1692, and was slain a few months later in the battle of Barfleur, 19 May, 1692. See *post*, p. 64.]

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The Prince of Orange making great progress in his march to London, and all the country joining with him, the King abandoned by those he most confided in, and the Queen sent with the young Prince away to France, deserted by his army, and seemed himself to have no remedy but in his flight, circumstances that so terrified my Lord Dartmouth, that he wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, [in answer to his,] offering the fleet to his Highness's service, and sent it by Capt. Aylmer, Hastings, and Mr. Byng, who, to avoid suspition in case they were intercepted, carried pretended letters to Mr. Secretary Pepys; and, fearing the garrison of Portsmouth shoud stop them, went up in their boats to Chichester, where, being furnished with horses, they proceeded on. But when they came to Midhurst, it being at the time all the nation was alarmed with the apprehensions of the wild Irish, they were seized and [carried to a house where they were] strictly examined; and tho' they were of the Prince of Orange's party, yet it was not propper for them to declare their message; so they were thought to be of the King's [side], especially when Aylmer [being asked of what country he was, answered an Irishman; and one of them declared positively that Mr. Byng was an Irish priest, and that he had heard him often say mass in the Queen's chappell]. So they wrote to the Duke of Somerset at Petworth, not far from thence; and tho' he writ the town a letter, to satisfye them they were coming to him, yet they were attended thither by many people on horseback [and even went up with them into the Duke's bedchamber to be convinced they were his friends]. 1688, December 10.

Being freed from them, they continued their journey, and came to the Prince at Windsor the day he arrived there; to whom they delivered my Lord Dartmouth's letter, which was very acceptable to the Prince. ,, 14.

Soon after my Lord Dartmouth sailed with part of the fleet to the Nore, leaving part of it at Spithead under the command of Sir John Berry, Vice Admirall, and apointing some ships (amongst ,, 30.

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which was Capt. Byng's) to go over to Guernsey, to protect that and the adjacent island from any attempt of the French.

1688. December 31. The Prince of Orange had not been many days at St. James' when he signed a comision for Mr. Byng to be cornett in the Earl of Oxford's regiment of blew guards. He had been offered a company of foot; but being in a post that required him to continue in the sea service, and having at that time leave to be excused his duty in the army, he chose the other as the more profitable [remaining in that regiment, tho' he was never with it, to be a lieutenant], which he resigned 2 years after to his brother John, who had continued in the army from the time of his being at Tangiers.

1689, January 3. The ships that saild from Spithead and were ordered to Guernsey got there in 4 days, and found that island in good hands. They remained there about a fortnight, and then made several

February 18. trips between that and Spithead, to which place they returned.

All possible dispatch was now making for an early campeign at sea; for upon the appearance of a war with France, who seemed determined to promote the interests of King James, and had allready declared war with Holland and Spain, as the Empire had with him, a great fleet was fitting out; and tho' there was not yet a declared war with the English, yet King James had passed over into Ireland with French troops and a strong squadroon from

March 12. Brest, and landed at Kingsale 12 March.

„ 14. Upon this advice, Admiral Herbert was appointed to command the fleet ordered to rendezvous at Portsmouth with all possible dispatch, from whence he hastened to the coast of Ireland with such ships that coud then be got ready, in hopes of interrupting the French fleet, with orders for the rest of the ships to follow him; and that rather singly than loose any time by staying for one another. With 12 ships only he got to Cork, on the Irish coast,

April 17. about the middle of Aprill; and, missing the French fleet, he sailed off of Brest as also in the Soundings, in hopes of meeting the enemy. But returning on the 29, he discovered a large fleet, of

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which he lost sight the next day; but, judging them to be to the westward of him, he bore away with the wind easterly, for Cape Clear; and in the evening saw them standing into Bantry Bay. May 1. He lay in the offing till morning, and then stood towards them, having increased his strength to 19 ships of war; a perticular List whereof is as follows, when they engaged the enemy:

Rate.	Ships' Names.	Men.	Guns.	Comanders.	Division.
3	Defyance	400	64	Cap. Ashby	Admirall Herbert
4	Portsmouth	220	46	St. Loe	
3	Plymouth	340	60	Carther	
4	Ruby	230	48	Froud	
4	Diamond	230	48	Wallters	
4	Advice	230	48	Grenville	
3	Mary	365	64	Col. Aylmer	
4	St. Albans	280	50	Cap. Layton	
3	Edgar	445	70	Shovell	
3	Elizabeth	460	70	Mitchelle	
3	Pendennis	460	70	Churchill	
4	Portland	230	48	Geo. Aylmer	
4	Deptford	280	54	Rooke	
4	Woolwhich	280	54	Sanders	
5	Dartmouth	150	36	Lay	
4	Greenwhich	280	54	Billop	
3	Cambridge	400	70	Clements	
4	Antelope	230	48	Wickham	
3	York	340	60	Delavall	
	Fireships.				
5	Firedrake	65	12 Gu. 6 Pat.	Cap. Leake	
5	Soudadoes	75	16	Wivell	
—	Sallemander	35	10 Gu. 2 m.	Gother	

See the list of the French fleet.

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The French, being 28 ships of the line, most of them from 60 to upwards of 70 guns and some bigger, with 5 fireships, were at anchor; and the transport ships that caried to Irland about 5,000 men, were at some distance plying to windward. When the French Admirall[a] saw the English fleet standing into the Bay, he weighed and stood to meet them; and Admirall Herbert, having with difficulty worked up within two miles of them, they bore down to him in a very orderly line; and tho' there was not then any declaration of war, they attacked each other. But Admirall Herbert, finding the enemy superior in force to him, steered out of the Bay under a gentle sail, not only to get his ships into a regular line, and be nearer the enemy, but to gain the wind also if possible. But so very cautious were the French in bearing down, that he coud not meet with an oppertunity of doing it. So that, continuing the fight upon a strech untill about 5 in the afternoon, the French Admirall, instead of persuing them (which he might have done with considerable advantage), he tacked and stood in towards the shoar, to the place where they were to land their troops; which work being
May 7. compleated, they returned to Brest a week after the fight, as
„ 12. Admirall Herbert did to Portsmouth, to repair the damages the fleet had received in the engagement. Though the Admirall had no success in the engagement, yet he lost no reputation by it, since he made a good retreat with a force so much inferior to the enemy; the loss of the English being only 90 men killed and 270 wounded.
June 15. When King William came to Portsmouth, which was soon after, to hasten the refitting of the fleet, he was so well pleased that he soon made him Earl of Torrington, and Capt. Ashby of the Defiance
Q. what gratuity each seaman received? and Shovel of the Edgar received the honour of knighthood, and each seaman a gratuity for their brave behaviour.

To return to Capt. Byng, who was come from the Island of

[a] [Louis François de Rousselet, Comte de Château-Renault; born 1637; lieutenant-général, 1688; vice-admiral de Levant, 1701; Maréchal de France, 1703; died 1716. See *Abraham Du Quesne et La Marine de Son Temps*, par A. Jal. ii. 586.]

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Guernsey to Portsmouth, he received orders to go to Torbay to convoy from thence some ships into Holland; which when he had [conducted them] to that coast, he sailed to the Downes, and from thence to the Buoy of the Nore, where he received a Comision from the lords of the admiralty to comand the Reserve,[a] then at Portsmouth. So he left the Constant Warwick to repair thither, and manned and compleated her by the 1st week in May; which he had no sooner done than Admirall Herbert, who was come about this time from Bantry Bay, gave him another comision to comand the Dover,[a] which lay in Portsmouth Harbour; with orders to join Sir Francis Weeler's[b] squadron at Plymouth, so soon as he coud get her ready; which in a week's time he did, and sailed from Portsmouth, where they were employed in fitting out another fleet, the war being now declared against the French ever since the 7 May last. About a week after his arrival there, Sir Francis cruised with his squadron of 5 ships in the Soundings, but without success; then meeting with the fleet, consisting of 42 men of war and 14 fire ships comanded by Lord Torrington, he joined them off the Lizard. The same day he sent Capt. Byng to Brest, in order to discover the French fleet and get what intelligence he coud of them; but he coud not discover any there; so, concluding they were sailed, he returned back to the fleet off of Scilly; yet Lord Torrington, not well enough satisfied the enemy were gone from thence, plied off that port with the fleet for severall days, ordering Capt. Byng, with three ships more with him, into Broad Sound to make what discoveries they coud. Here the Dover exchanged some shot with a French man of warr, which however got from her; after which they returned to the fleet, the same day that

March 12.
April 17.
May 8.
„ 15.
„ 22.
June 4.
„ 21
„ 23.
„ 26.
July 4.
„ 5.
„ 5.

[a] [Both 4th Rates.]

[b] [Sir Francis Wheler; Captain, 1680; knighted by King James, Nov., 1688; Rear-Admiral in 1692, and Commander-in-chief in the West Indies; in Dec., 1693 appointed Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean; lost at sea off Gibraltar, in a violent storm, 19 Feb., 1693-4. Cf. Playfair's *Scourge of Christendom*, 164, where the date is wrongly given 19 March.]

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Mr. Russell, admirall of the blue, with the Dutch admirall and 3 of their flags, joyned Lord Torrington.

July 10. The Grand fleet being met, Lord Torrington held a councill of war; and there it was resolved to send Sir Francis Wheeler with 12 ships and 2 fire ships into Brest, not only to observe the French fleet, but likewise the fortifications of that place, and know in what manner they coud best attack the French in their own port. In persuance of this resolution, Sir Francis Wheeler with his squadron (in which was the Dover) sailed off of Brest,

13. and standing for St. Mathew's point, they counted in the harbour 40 odd ships and a flag. Upon their going in so nigh, severall of the French got under sail, but came not out; and when in the night time the English stood in again, 20 of thier ships stood out to them; but it being night and little wind, they did not meet; and Sir Francis Weeler thought propper to stand of the Broad Sound[a] and off the Isle of Ushent, where he lay 3 or 4 days;

„ 20. in which time Capt. Byng took a prize and then joined Lord Torrington's fleet which lay off there out at sea. Lord Torrington

„ 30. remained in these parts for 10 days and then plied away to the westward and to the coast of Ireland, where they cruised till the

August 22. latter end of August with little success, not meeting with any of the French fleet, except one small ship Capt. Byng found in Baltimore Haven, whom he had boarded with his boat, cut her

„ 31. cable and towed her out. So the fleet, steering homeward, anchored in Torbay the last of August. From thence Capt. Byng was

September ordered to Plymouth to clean and then to cruise with the St.

October 6. Albans in the Soundings; which he did in the beginning of October and continued to all this month without any other success

November 1. than the taking 1 prize, tho' in chase of ships every day. They afterwards met with 2 French ships and engaged them. One of them [being small and which was] loaded with arms and powder for King James' service was soon taken; but the other,

[a] [Passage de l'Iroise.]

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on board which was Lord Dover and severall gentlemen with mony to pay some French ships, got away. They then sailed to Falmouth, and afterwards to Plymouth, where they found the Lord Berkeley with a squadron of 20 ships, English and Dutch. Here Capt. Byng was in great danger from a violent storm of wind which blew them from their anchors on a sunken rock about 2 cables length from the Cittadel, having struck and beat on it severall times; upon which Capt. Byng cut his cables and stood into les water, swinging there athwart a fireship's cables, who was just got in before. They being cut, she drove upon the rocks, and in less than half an hour sunk. Capt. Byng secured his own ship with great difficulty [and in the night Lord Berkeley's ship that lay in Catwater did likewise brake from her cables, and falling on board the Dover did her some damage]. November 29.

In the beginning of December Lord Berkeley sailed from Plymouth with 26 English and Dutch men of warr to look out for the French; sending Sir Clo. Showell on the Irish coast to get intelligence of them there. They had no success; and what few ships they met with wronged his ships; except a privateer of 20 guns that Capt. Byng came up with off of Scilly and engaged in a runing fight from 2 till 8 in the evening, when he boarded and took her; in doing which, the Dover's head and bowsprit was caried away; and the sea ran so high they were not able to secure her foremast. The fleet meeting with bad weather bore away for Plymouth and ended their cruise with the year. In the beginning of the next year severall squadrons were fitted out. Admirall Killigrew was sent into the Mediterrenean to protect the trade, and Admirall Russell to Holland to conduct from thence to the Groyne[a] the new Queen of Spain; Sir Clo. Showell was apointed to comand a squadron of 7 ships in the Irish seas, with which he sailed from Plymouth in the beginning of March. The Dover being one of this squadron, as they came on the Irish coast, she took a yatch with the Earl of Clincarty, off Dungarvan, and after plying a December 7. „ 20. „ 23. 1690. March 2. „ 8.

[a] [Corunna.]

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week they went into Milford Haven. From hence Capt. Byng
March 13. was ordered to cruise off Saltees[a] on the coast of Ireland, where he
„ 20. took a French flyboat, from whom he received an account of the
„ 21. arrival of the French squadron into Cork River, where he was in near enough to tell 18 of their ships, being the squadron comanded by Monsieur Damfreville [who had conveyed over 5,000 men]; upon which Capt. Byng sailed back to Milford Haven to acquaint Sir Clo. Showell therewith; but, being sailed to the northward, he
„ 26. joined him not till they met off of Holyhead. Sir Clo. went im-
„ 29. mediately to Hylake[b] to forward the transportation of the soldiers to Carickfergus, ordering Capt. Byng in before him, following him-
April 10. self soon after with the convoy; the army being to assemble here
„ 15. that was to act in the next campaign. Sir Clo. then cruised off of Dublin, and sent in some ships within the barr, who attacked a frigot of King James that lay there; but it was after 2 hours fight before they became masters of her; from whence he returned to
„ 26. Hylake, the day after Capt. Byng was come in from a cruise with another ship off of Waterford, where he had been obliged to put in, his topmasts being carried away. As soon as he was refitted Sir Clo. ordered him again upon the same station with the St. Albans and Experiment. In this cruise he took a French vessell, and the St. Albans ran an Irish one ashoar off Dungarvan and burnt her;
May 9. they then stood into Waterford, and afterward sailed to the coast of
„ 12. Wales, and anchored at Milford Haven, where they continued a
„ 17. week, then sailed for Hylake, where they found Sir Clo. Shovell
„ 20. with the rest of the squadron.

The same day Capt. Byng came in he received orders from the Admiralty to leave the Dover and repair to the Downes, to take upon him the command of the Hope, which was not agreable to him, as leaving a cruising ship on a good station, to go into an unfurnished ship, tho' of a biger rate. His orders were so pressing

[a] [A dangerous group of islands and rocks nearly midway between the Hook and Carnsore points.]

[b] [Hoylake.]

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that he took post horses, and, taking leave of Sir Clo., came immediately to London, and then repaired to the Downes, where the Grand fleet was assembled with great deligence, to protect the kingdom from an intended envasion from France ; King James' party having represented to the French court our ill state, and the manner in which our severall fleets were then divided. The Lord Torrington. who was appointed to comand this fleet, was come to the Downes May 28. about the same time that Capt. Byng got there to take on him the comand of the Hope, from whence in the midle of June he sailed June 12. with what ships were ready to join the rest of the fleet at St. Helens.

Mr de Tourville[a] was joined at Brest by the Count of Chateau Renaud, who in coming thro' the Streights had missed Killigrew's squadron that was looking out for him. With a great fleet consisting of the largest and best of the French ships, Mr. de Tourville sailed from Brest, and coming into the Channell, hovered on the English coast, expecting the effects of the designed conspiricy which was to brake out about this time.

The English and Dutch had not been long rendezvou'd at St. „ 23. Helen's when the Lord Torrington received advice of the French fleet appearing on the back of the Isle of Wight; which surprised him, as not believing them forward enough to be out so soon, and therefore had sent no scouts to the westward to observe their motions.

Upon this he immediately got under sail and was joined the 24. next day by Admirall Evertson[b] and severall Dutch ships with him. When he made the French fleet, they were to leeward of „ 25. him, and drawing into a line of battle, bore down upon them; but, a thick fogg coming on, the English and Dutch anchored till it cleared up, when they saw the French fleet again, consisting in all

[a] [Anne Hilarion de Cotentin, Comte de Tourville, born 1642; vice-amiral de Levant, 1689; Maréchal de France, 1693; died 1701. The best sketch of his noteworthy career is in Jal's *Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire.*]

[b] [Cornelis Evertsen, luitenant-admiraal, son of Luitenant-admiraal Cornelis Evertsen, who was slain in the four-days fight, 1666.]

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of 100 sail. The Lord Torrington then made the signal for the blue squadron to lead the van towards them; but when he was come within 4 leagues of them, it growing night, he brought too and both fleets anchored. In a councill of war Lord Torrington held upon this occasion, it was the general opinion they were too weak to engage the enemy; the sentiments of which he sent up
June 26. by express to the Queen. In the mean time both fleets in sight of one another weighed and drew into a line; but, it proving little wind, they anchored again; but in the evening Lord Torrington stood up
„ 27. the Channell, and, the French fleet not being in sight all the next
„ 28. day and the day after, he came off of Beachy Head, where he kept sometimes under sail and sometimes at anchor.

While the 2 fleets kept thus in sight of each other, the court was very uneasy that the enemy shoud be on the coast, while such a considerable fleet was at sea; therefore positive orders was sent to
„ 29. Lord Torrington not to let the French fleet go away unfought; which orders he received the evening of the 29 June; who immediately communicated them to a council of war, who were of opinion that since he had such positive orders to fight the [French with an inferiour force] it shoud not be delayed while they had the wind of them; and that it woud be best when they attacked them to go up close to them, the Admirall of the Dutch joining in the same opinion. So that Lord Torrington got under sail that same evening
1690, June 30. being 3 leagues off of Beachy Head. The next morning at break of day the fleet was drawn into a line of battle, and Lord Torrington with a fresh gale at N.N.E. bore down, with his topsails, upon the French fleet, who were standing towards the shoar; and about 8 o'clock being come within a league of them, he hoisted the red flag, the signal to engage; upon which the French fleet immediately braced their head sails to the mast and lay in their line to receive them; and about half an hour after, Lord Torrington brought to at twice cannon shot from the enemy, at which time both fleets stod N. and S. 3 or 4 leagues off Beachy

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Head, with their heads to the nortward ;[a] but soon after Lord Torrington stood with his division to the southward, in order to bring himself against the center of the French line, for had he gone up to engage Mr. de Tourville ship, his rear had been overpowered, but Sir John Ashby, Vice-Admiral of the red, who was following Lord Torrington, observing what intervall it made between him and the Dutch, who led the van of the fleet, stood back again to the northward with his division, to join them ; and Lord Torrington stood again after Sir John Ashby. It was about nine when the Dutch in the van, with their starboard tacks on board, began the battle ; at first within the distance of cannon shot, but were afterwards much nearer, and continued warmly engaged ; [the blue squadron beginning half an hour after in the rear. The red squadron was then at random-shot from the enemy, and did not begin till about 10; and at no time came nearer the French than half canon shot, occasioned by the bow that was in the center of both fleets, and the whole who engaged by backing and filling their topsails. When Sir Ashby, who bore in equally with the Dutch, was come within shot of Mr. de Tourville, he fired 2 guns into him as the usual signal for challenge ; but the French Admirall took no notice of it ; but with his topsails aback, is supposed to have waited to engage with the English Admirall; yet Sir John Ashby bore down upon him and battled him, till his foretopmast being shot away he was disabled and obliged to tow out of the line.] In the rear, Sir Ralph Delavall,[b] Vice-Admirall of the blew, bore right down upon the French, receiving their shot fore and aft, and did not bring to till he was within muskett shot, and then engaged Count d'Estrees[c] squadron half an hour after the van had

[a] [According to the plans, both English and French, the lines headed towards the N.W. or N.W. by W., the wind north-easterly. Charnock's *Biog. Nav.*, vol. i., and Eugène Sue, *Hist. de la Marine Française*, iv. 366.]

[b] [Died, Admiral of the blue, 1707 : buried in Westminster Abbey.]

[c] [Victor Marie, Comte d'Estrées, son of Jean, Comte d'Estrées, who commanded the French squadron associated with the English under the Duke of York or Prince Rupert in 1672-3 ; born 1660; Maréchal de France, 1703 ; chief of the staff and

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begun. [He press'd them so much that, as they edged from him, he at last allmost came into their line; they setting their sails and were bearing away, when a calm came, and then they towed from him with their boats. This behaviour of Admirall Delavall] caused that great space between the van of the blew squadron and rear of the red, which there was during all the action. It was about 10 aclock when Lord Torrington with the [red] squadron began to engage and was at no time nearer the French than half cannon shot, occasioned in some measure by the bows that was in the center of both fleets, who engaged by backing and filling their topsails; [tho' the other reason given for his not going nearer than he did was to avoid being raked fore and aft.] In this manner were both the fleets engaged, except such ships of the French line as, in the intervalls that were, had none opposite to them. That part of the French fleet that engaged with the Dutch and Sir John Ashby's division was so much pressed by them as to give way and set more sail to go off. But the Dutch not strecking up to the head of the French line before they began the engagement, left nine of the French ships a-head of them, which might be occasioned by their lying by at first for Sir John Ashby to join them. These nine ships of the enemy about 1 aclock had strecked ahead and weathered the van of the Dutch; from which they were engaged on both sides, and fell so hard upon them, that Admirall Vandeput was obliged to put all his division out of the line; from whence there arose great confusion, and they endangered from their own firing. When this was observed by Lord Torrington, he ordered the ships to luff off up to the eastward, but it falling calm about 3 it was not possible to get to their assistance; upon which he came two hours after to an anchor on the tide of ebb; and the French not anchoring, in an hour after they drove out of shot. So ended the battle; in which one Dutch ship was lost, that for want of anchors drove among the French ships. In the evening, at 9, Lord Torrington weighed with

virtual commander in-chief in the battle off Velez-Malaga, 13 Aug. 1704; died 1737.]

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the fleet, standing to the eastward and, taking in tow such ships as were disabled, plyed to windward by the help of the tyde. To retire and destroy their disabled ships, if they were pressed by the enemy, rather than hazard another engagement by protecting them, was the resolution of a councill of warr held by Lord Torrington the day after the fight. Therefore Capt. Cornwall and Byng were sent to burn the ship of the Vice-Admirall of Zealand, so endamaged and so much a stern, there was no hopes of saving her; so taking him and the men on board their ship, they put that order in execution. The French continued their pursuit for 4 days; which had they not done in a formall line of battle, but every best sailer left to act, at least all the disabled ships of the fleet had been taken by them; but through this failure, and by not observing or not being well acquainted with our tides, which the English fleet made such advantages off, that when they got off of Dover the French, tho' in sight, were so far behind that they desisted following it any further, as not thinking it advisable to go after them on the back of the Goodwin, and in amongst the sands towards the Thames, where the English fleet was retiring, and came to an anchor at the Nore in July 9. great confusion; and, expecting that the French might attack them, all the buoys were taken up and other necessary dispositions made as soon as they got there. The Dutch lost in this action and persuit 7 ships that were either burnt or ran ashoar, and the English, a 3d rate called the Anne,[a] who having lost all her masts, ran ashoar near Winchelsea and was set on fire by her own captain. But a Dutch commander distinguished himself remarkably by defending his ship[b] that was ashoar so well every high water that tho' the French attacked her they thought fit to desist; and saving his ship carried her home. When the French had given over their persuit, they kept hovering some time upon the coast and then

[a] [Commanded by Tyrrell, Byng's old captain in the Phœnix.]

[b] [The Maze, of 64 guns, Captain Jan Snellen. He was promoted to be Rear-Admiral (Schout-bij-Nacht); his son, who was on board, was made lieutenant; and the crew were granted a month's pay.—De Jonge, iii. 213.]

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stood away for Torbay. But the Queen had no sooner received the news of this engagement, which Lord Torrington had sent her up an account of by express, than she was much irratated; and, tho' he gave her hopes of being able to make a stand when he came among the sands at the Nore, yet the Earl of Pembroke and other persons of distinction were immediately sent down to enquire into the mismanagement that was supposed to have been; and not only very strickly to examine this affair, but to take on them the command of the fleet if there shoud be occasion. [But] they even found none for this. for their remaining there, as was thought in the council of war then held, and so they returned to court with what examinations they had taken; after which Lord Torrington was sent to the Tower, where he remained till the month of December; and on the [a] of an order of Council was made for his tryall by any captains of the fleet who were not in the engagement with him. It was by a court martial held at Sheerness on the 10th of December, in which he was unanimously acquitted; tho' it was thought by some it shoud have been the House of Lords, as being a Peer.[b] It is supposed this was chiefly done as some satisfaction to the Dutch, who had much suffered in the battle. The only blame to be laid on Lord Torrington was his standing to the southward at the beginning of the engagement, and by not going nigher to the French with the rest of the fleet, as he had admonished all the other comanders to do at the councill of warr held before the battle; yet tho' [it was the general opinion that had] his squadron, which was the strongest, had behaved as the rest did, [the French in all probability had not mett with success, or it woud have cost them very dear, yet] it is unreasonable to think he coud have obtained any victory over the French, whose strength was so much superior both in the numbers and quality of their ships; the enemy being 70 od sail and in

[a] [Blank in the MS. He was sent down to Sheerness on 6 December; and the court-martial was held on board the Kent on 8th—10th.]

[b] [Cf. *Reasons for the Tryal of the Earl of Torrington by Impeachment by the Commons in Parliament, rather than any other way*, 1690, sm. 4°.]

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generall bigger than those of the English and Dutch; the perticular list of which here follows:—

Fireships' Names.	Ships' Names.	Men.	Guns.	Comanders' Names.	Divisions.
	Utrecht[a] (*Wapen van Utrecht*)		64	(*Decker*)	
	Alcmear (*Wapen van Alkmaar*)		50	(*Kalf*)	
	Tholen		60	(*Calis*)	
	West Vriesland		82	(*Callenburgh, Vice-Admiral*)	
	Princes (*Maria*)		92	(*Schey, Schout-bij-Nacht*)	
	Castricum		52	(*Kuyper*)	
	Agatha		50	(*Van der Zaan*)	
	Staten land[t] (*Stad en Lande*)		52	(*Taalman*)	
	Mayd[s] v. Enkuysen (*Maagd van Enkhuisen*)		72	(*Van den Poel*)	
	Dort Holland (*Noord Holland*)		44	(*Swaan*)	
	Mayd[s] v. Dort (*Maagd van Dort*)		60	(*Pietersen*)	Dutch
	Hollandia		70	(*Evertsen, Luitenant-Admiral*)	
	Velvoe (*Veluwe*)		60	(*Van Brakel, Schout-bij-Nacht*)	
	Pro. v. Utrecht (*Provincie van Utrecht*)		50	(*Convent*)	
	De Meurs (*Maze*)		64	(*Snellen*)	
	Vriesland		68	(*Van der Goes*)	
	Elswout		50	(*Northey*)	
	Rengensburg (*Reigersberge*)		74	(*Van Zyl*)	
	Geerondburg (*Gekroonde Burg*)		62	(*Van Putte, Vice-Admiral*)	
	North Holland (*Noorder Quartier*)		72	(*Dick, Schout-bij-Nacht*)	
	Veero		60	(*Mosselman*)	
	Cartien (*Cortiene*)		50	(*De Boer*)	

[a] [The correct names of the Dutch ships and their commanders are given in italics from De Jonge, *Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Zeewezen*, iii., and the continuation of Aitzema, *Saken van Staat en Oorlogh*, 1687-92.]

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Fireships' Names.	Ships' Names.	Men.	Guns.	Comanders' Names.	Divisions.
	Plymouth	340	60	Cap. Carthar	
	Deptford	280	50	Carr	
	Elizabeth	460	70	Mitchell	Sir John Ashby, Vice Admiral
Wolfe	Sandwich	660	90	Bridges	
Vulture	Expedition	460	70	Clements	
	Warspight	420	70	Fairbone	
	Woolwhich	280	54	Goather	
	Lyon	340	60	Topply	
	Constant Warwick	180	36	Beverly	
	Rupert	100[a]	66	Pomeroy	
	Albermarle	660	90	Sir Fra. Wheeler	Lord Torrington, Admiral of the fleet
Roebuck	Grafton	460	70	Duke of Grafton	
Dolphin	Royal Souveraign	815	100	Nevill	
Owner's Love	Windsor Castle	660	90	Churchill	
Speedwell	Lenox	160[a]	70	Greenville	
	Sterling Castle	460	70	Hassking (*Hastings*)	
	York	340	60	Hopson	
	Suffolk	460	70	Cornwall	
	Hampton Court	460	70	J. Leayton	Rear Admiral Rook
Hound	Dutchess	660	90	Gillham	
Spy	Hope	460	70	Byng	
	Restoration	460	70	Botham	
Fox	Anne	460	70	Tyrrell	
Thomas and Elisah	Bonadventure	230	48	Hubbard	
	Edgar	445	72	Juniper (*Jumper*)	
	Exeter	460	70	Meese	
	Bredah	460	70	Tennent	Sir Ralph Delavall, Vice Admiral
Charles	St. Andrew	730	96	Dorrell	
Griffin	Coronation	660	90	Munden	
Hawk	Royall Catherine	540	82	Aylmer	
Cignet	Cambridge	420	70	Foulks	
	Berwick	460	70	Martin	
	Swallow	230	48	Walters	
Hunter	Defyance	400	64	Graydon	
Cadiz merchant	Captain	460	70	Jones	

The Dutch Admirall, who went very nigh the enemy and behaved himself very bravely, comitted likewise a mistake by not

[a] [The figures in the MS. are unusually clear and distinct; but there can be little doubt that the 1 is written in error for 4.]

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going to the headmost ships of the enemy's line, which had prevented their strecking a head and tacking on him, which gave occasion to the ill consequences that followed. As these were the mistakes of the confederates during the battle, so was not the French without theirs after it; for had they anchored at first, as the English did, they had not been so much to the westward of them, or had weighed so early as them, it is thought the whole fleet might have been endangered, they being near twice as strong [as the English fleet] after that of the Dutch were disabled. But the English gained so much on them, that they thought it in vain to pursue them further and thereby lost the advantage of a victory they might have obtained. The loss of this battle, and the apprehensions of a descent, and severall risings in the country occasioned a great consternation in the people; but from the Queen's wise administration and application to business during the King's absence, joyned to her constancy of mind, prevented all their fears of danger; and the victory gained by the King at the battle of the Boyne, which happened on the very next day after that of Beachy, put a sudden and effectual stop to all the designs of the discontented party.

The fleet was repairing and refitting with all diligence and severall great ships was ordered to be fitted out to reinforce it; and by the midle of August most of the fleet was ready, and August 21. rendezvou'd in the Downes, which was commanded by Sir Richard Haddock, Admirall Killigrew, and Sir John Ashby, all joined in one commission, and were on board the same ship[a] wearing the union flag. Some part of the fleet being sailed to Spithead, they were joined by the Dutch squadron consisting of 20 sail, and were employed for preparing all things for the expedition to Ireland. But before they could sail, the season being thought to far advanced for the biggest ships to be at sea, they were ordered back to

[a] [The Royal Sovereign: this was the magnificent ship built by Charles I. in 1639; there is a beautiful model of her at Greenwich; she was accidentally burnt at Gillingham on 27 Jan., 1695-6.]

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Chatham, while the rest of the fleet of Dutch and English, being about 60 sail, with the transports, having on board 5,000 men
September 17. comanded by the Earl of Marlbro', sailed to Cork in order to beseige it. But Capt. Byng went not in that fleet; for while it lay at Spithead he was remouved from the Hope into the Dutchess,
October 2. which being one of the great ships was to be laid up; so he went back with her to Blackstakes with the rest of the larger ships, who upon their arrival were paid off; after which Capt. Byng was out of comission during the remaining part of the year. About this
November 13. time he resigned his lieutenancy in the Lord of Oxford regiment of blew guards, to his brother John, who went with the forces that embarked for Cork in Ireland; and it was after the seige of that place he went to Mrs. Franklyn, 3 miles from Yaul, for his brother Robert, whom he brought over with him to England.

1691. In the beginning of this year great diligence was used in fitting out the fleet under the command of Mr. Russell, who was apointed admirall of the fleet on the 3rd December last. Capt. Byng was to comand the Royall Oak, but while his ship was getting ready at Chatham, an affair of another nature kept him in town, his marriage
March 5th. with Margaret[a] the daughter of James Master [which was accomplished by the means of the Countess of Newport and Mrs. Froud].

Soon after which he went down to the fleet; and tho' there will be but little occasion to mention him in particular, yet as his ship was in Admirall Russell's fleet, it may not be improper to take notice of the proceedings of it.[b]

Admirall Russell had received instructions to sail to such station in the Soundings or on the French coast as might be most propper for annoying the enemy and protecting our trade; he was not to leave the Downs till joined by the Dutch[c] ships of war, and had appointed a squadron to look after the French ships at Dunkirk,

[a] [See Charnock's *Biographia Navalis*, vol. iv. p. 24; s.n. Streynsham Master, her brother.]

[b] [See Burchett, p. 433.]

[c] ["By 20 Dutch ships of war, or at least 18." (Burchett.)]

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leaving instructions[a] with the comander of it, how to join the fleet shoud there be occasion for it. And, altho' he was empowered to proceed from time to time, in such manner as might best enable him to destroy the enemy either by sea or land, without expecting perticular orders, yet it was expressly provided that if bad weather rendered it unsafe for him to keep the sea he shoud repair to and remain at Torbay till further order; which restriction was thought not to have been well considered.[b]

With these instructions he received a list of the ships and vessells appointed for the main fleet, the rates and numbers of which were as follows:—

Rates.	Numbers.
1	5
2	11
3	32
4	9
5	4
6	3
Fireships	20
Hospital ships	4
Sloop	1
Brigantine	1
Yatch	1
	91, of which 57 were

of the line of the battle besides the Dutch, whose quota was generally 5 to 8.

The fleet being victualled and indifferently well manned, Admirall Russell had orders from the Queen dated the 7th of May, to proceed into the Soundings, provided the Dutch had joined him, and that

[a] ["With the Commander-in-Chief of which squadron he was to leave instructions." (*Ibid.*)]

[b] ["The consequences of which restraint was not, I am apt to think, so thoroughly considered as it ought to have been." (*Ibid.*)]

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he thought it propper to venture the great ships there at such a season of the year; from thence he was to detach a considerable number of ships and fireships to Gallaway in Irland, either to prevent the French landing succours there, or to destroy them if in that harbour; and it was left to his discretion to lye with the body of the fleet in such station as that this detachment might most readily join him, to prevent the ill consequences of his being attacked by the enemy when seperated. Admirall Russell did not approuve of sending any considerable squadron to Gallaway, because many accidents might have hindered their joining the fleet, the consequence of which woud have been of very great importance shoud the French get between them, and was of greater weight than the reduction of Irland that summer; yet he had no objection to the sending some ships thither if her Majesty was satisfyed the French were so backward in their naval preperations as that our fleet might with safety be thus seperated. And with great reason, he was very unwilling that Dunkirk shoud be left unregarded untill the uncertain arrivall of other Dutch ships; since the river woud be left open to the French, the trade and fishery on all the coast thereby exposed, and Newcastle might suffer greatly from them. The reasons that induced her Majesty to send these instructions were from the intelligence received from Holland in April, that the French King designed to send a body of troops from France to Irland in about 200 ships; and that near 150 of them were at Belle Isle, the place appointed for them to rendezvous at, as well as the 25 men of war designed for their convoy; and it was reported that those transports were loaded with all things necessary for the subsistance and cloathing of men, with a considerable sum of money to pay the army com-

1691, May 16. manded by Monsr. St. Ruth. By the middle of May, most of the ships fitting out being rendezvoud in the Downes, Admirall Russell came on board the Britania, and having composed a line of battle, an abstract whereof follows:—

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Squadron.	Divisions.	Rate of Ships. 1st.	2d.	3d.	4th.	Small Craft.
Blue	Vice-admirall	1.	2.	5.	2.	1 sixth Rate, 4 frigots
	Admirall	0.	3.	5.	1.	2 fourth[a] Rates, 3 fireships 2 hospital ships, 1 Bomb
	Rear-admiral	1.	1.	6.	1.	3 fireships.
Red	Rear-admiral	0.	2.	6.	1.	3 fireships
	Admirall	2.	1.	5.	2.	1 fifth Rate, 1 sixth Rate 3 fireships, 2 hospitals, 1 yatch
	Vice-admirall	1.	2.	5.	2.	3 fireships and small frigots
		5.	11.	32.	9.	

		No.	
Dutch	of 92 guns	3	one of 44 guns
	84 „	1	
	76 „	2	
	72 „	2	
	70 „	1	one of 16, 2 fireships
	64 „	5	
	50 „	3	

So that of English and Dutch there were 74 ships of the line, besides others which the Dutch admirall expected.

On the 10th of May Admirall Russell was acquainted by a Secretary of State that there was reason to apprehend the French not only intended to send amunition and instruments of war to Ireland, but to transport also a considerable number of Irish from thence to Scotland; and that therefore it was the Queen's pleasure he shoud endeavour to intercept them in their passage to Gallaway, or to destroy them in that harbour; for which reason he was to send the fleet to St. Hellens or Spithead and himself to attend her Majesty in town, that all the affaires relating to this expedition might be maturely considered of; and her Majesty concuring with him that Dunkirk ought not to be neglected, ordered him to block up that port before the fleet sailed, if the Dutch ships expected there did not timely arrive. When he returned to the fleet he had orders to send some ships into the Irish Chaunel, as he himself had purposed, to cruise upon the coast of Scotland without Cantire,

[a] [Should be sixth, and is so given in Burchett, p. 435.]

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that so they might prevent the French transporting any forces from Irland to that kingdom; and tho' by letters from Dublin the enemy was not yet arrived, yet it was probable they might soon be there; so that it was earnestly recomended to him to hasten to Gallaway and endeavour to destroy the ships before they coud unlade and receive the soldiers that were to have embarked.

These orders woud have been imediately complied with, but that the fleet coud not well stir from the Downes untill joined by the ships off of Dunkirk,[a] severall of them being of the line, which were soon expected thence; and when arrived the Admirall purposed sending a squadron of 10 ships English and Dutch. But on discoursing the Dutch Admirall about this affair, he found him not willing to part with any of his ships, alledged he had orders not to do it till his number was 36, of which no more than 28 were arrived. The Queen however comanded the fleet shoud proceed as soon as possible, according to her former instructions, without staying for the return of the Dunkirk squadron. The manner of the Dutch assisting at that blocade being settled,[b] the 20th of May the fleet was ready, and Admirall Russell intended to sail the next morning from the Downs to Torbay and to leave orders for Mr. Churchill[c] to follow him thither with the squadron under his comand off of Dunkirk; to suply the place of which, he appointed 5 men of war and a fireship to join with those 3 the Dutch Admirall was at length prevailed with to leave. But the wind being southerly prevented them sailing; and now the Vice-Admirall of Zealand arriving with three Dutch ships, and those of Dunkirk that were relieved might also join the fleet if the wind continued so but one day longer, he altered his resolution of calling at Torbay, and the 22 of May received the Queen's orders to proceed before Brest.

[a] [For several of them were of the line of battle; but since the falling of the tides would prevent the French getting out of that port, ours were soon expected thence, and when they were arrived, the Admiral proposed etc." (Burchett.)]

[b] [Burchett gives the detail of this settlement.]

[c] [George Churchill, brother of the Duke of Marlborough, and senior member of the Lord High Admiral's Council in the reign of Queen Anne.]

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This disconcerted some measures he had proposed to take; and[a] among other things, he was in doubt if the fleet continued off of Brest till Mr. Aylmer arrived with the homeward bound ships, a thing very uncertain, the men by that long continuance at sea woud fall sick. But notwithstanding his objections, he assured the Queen that he woud punctually obey her comands; and that tho' he wished for nothing so much as the meeting with the whole French force with the ships he then had, yet he earnestly desired that no intelligences or motives whatever might prevail with her Majesty to take any considerable number from him.

In the morning on the 23 of May he sailed with the fleet; but May 23. being got as far westward as Dungeness, the fleet was forced back to the Downs with a hard gale at south west; and soon after news came from Irland that the French were arrived in the river Shannon,[b] with a great number of transports. Thereupon Admiral Russell received the Queen's orders to go to Brest, as soon as he had left a squadron to lye before Dunkirk to block it up agreably to what he had proposed. He was to send to Ireland[c] for intelligence from thence, and if upon information from the Lord Justices the French were either gone to Scotland or were at any place in Ireland, he judged they might be destroyed in the latter, or prevented going to the former, he was to send a squadron either to the west of Ireland, or through St. George's Channel to Scotland, with orders for them to return to the fleet when they had done their utmost in either of those attempts.

It was likewise recommended to him to get the best information he coud of the French fleet and to have a particular regard to the safety of the trade expected from Smyrna; also to order the ships on the Irish coast to return to the fleet as soon as the service woud admit of it; and when he shoud think it convenient to come from

[a] ["Besides, the Admiral was in doubt that if, &c." (Burchett.)]

[b] ["With 100 sail of transports, and that the men of war which convoyed them cruised between that river and Galway." (Burchett.)]

[c] [Kinsale. (Burchett.)]

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before Brest, he was to repair to Cape Clear. But it was again recommended to him to remain before Brest or thereabouts if the weather permitted untill the Smyrna fleet arrived, and as long time after as he shoud judge necessary. On the 1st of June the Admirall was acquainted there woud be no occasion for sending ships to Scotland, since the news of the Duke of Berwick being gone thither was contradicted.

Not many days after, and while the Admirall remained here with contrary winds, he received advice from Court that the French fleet was certainly gone from Ireland, and that as well that as the transports woud probably get clear of that coast before his arrivall; [it was therefore recommended to him to sail off of Brest and Belle Isle, least the French fleet shoud intercept the Smyrna fleet, every day expected home]. Admirall Russell was of opinion that if the French were out of Brest they should be followed; he had time while the bad weather continued to have his orders so explained as
June 9. that he might persue those intentions. As soon as the wind woud permitt, Admirall Russell weighed with the fleet [sending some ships to Brest to get intelligence], and sailed from the Downes, having ordered a strong squadron of men of warr over to Dunkirk. Off the Start the fleet met with such hard gales of wind as forced
„ 21. Admirall Russell to bear away into Torbay. After 2 days stay here he sailed, and being of of Dartmouth he received advice that the French fleet were at sea with 80 ships; so that he then made all possible haste to the coast of France, and then strecked over to Cape Clear in Ireland, for the protection of the Turkey fleet; which being very richly laded, the French used all their endeavours to intercept it, and for that purpose had hovered a long time on the Irish coast; but when Mr. Russell came before Kingsale he found them all arrived safe there; and then ordered Mr. Aylmer, who had convoyd the Turkey fleet thither, to joyn him; and when the
„ 13. merchants' ships were protected as far as Scilly, they made the best of their way up the Channell; Admirall Russell standing with the fleet towards Ushent, to seek the enemy, and if gone from thence

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to follow them to Belle Isle. As soon as he made Ushent, he sent Sir Clodesly with a squadron to look into Brest, where he got intelligence that the French fleet had been at sea above a month, and that a water ship which had not been long from them left it about 40 leagues west of Ushent. Admirall Russell therefore made the best of his way to look out for them; and, being several leagues to the west of Ushent, they fell in with several ships going to them with provisions, of which 3 small ones were taken. The prisoners reported their fleet to consist of 76 sail of the line and 30 fireships. So that the English fleet lay here in hopes of meeting with them; but Mr. de Tourville, by keeping his scouts out at a very great distance, which being chased, sailed away making signalls to others within them, avoided the English. While Admirall Russell kept on his station and was in some doubt how to proceed, he received directions from the Queen to go to the coast of Ireland in order to protect the trade;[a] but was not to leave the French coast so as to neglect an oppertunity of fighting the enemy. Admirall Russell soon after steered away for Ushent and sending some ships before him, they brought him intelligence of a 100 sail being in Broad Sound, which was the French fleet going into Brest; but at a councill of war held on this occasion it was resolved to put into Torbay, upon consideration that both English and Dutch wanted water and bear; whereupon the fleet sailed thither, ordering the ships to be put into a condition for service again with all expedition. While the fleet lay here, Admirall Russell sent for a further explanation of his orders; and upon the lords of the admiralty desiring to know how long it might be convenient to keep the fleet at sea in case the French did not disarm their ships, he called a council of war, where it was agreed it shoud not continue at sea longer than the 10th of September at furthest; and that the most proper place for it to cruize was 10 or 20 leagues W.S.W. from Scilly. This resolution of the flag officers being communicated to the Queen in

June 17.

1691. July 29.

„ 31.

August 5.

„ 12.

„ 19.

[a] ["If the French fleet was not at sea, or in such a station where prudently he could attack them." (Burchett.)]

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Council, her Majesty did let the admirall know she thought the oppertunity of attacking the French fleet in Camaret Bay ought not to be neglected, since the attempt might be made before the time the council of war had limited for sending home the great ships. However her Majesty, considering the season of the year and other accidents at sea (not to be foreseen or judged of at land), did not think fit positively to comand the fleet turning before Brest, but declared she woud be satisfied with the resolutions of a council of war in that matter; altho' she thought there was not anything so desirable or so much for the public interest as a battle, coud it be attempted without too great hazard, on the French coast. The admirall returning an answer the 24, observed he had no orders from the lords of the admiralty to obey either the King's or her Majestie's comands, as the Earl of Torrington formerly had [a] when he commanded the fleet; nor any orders from their lordships contradictory to their first instructions (altho' he had several times writ to them on that subject), which directed him, on his return to Torbay, to remain there till further orders; and that tho' upon considering the contents of the foregoing letter from the Secretary of State, he had once resolved to sail, yet in regard of the hazard as well as the inconveniencies he might himself be exposed to, he did not think it safe to carry the fleet to sea without perticular orders. The day after he called a council of war, where the flags officers came to an opinion that tho' the French fleet was in Cameret Bay, it was not advisable to make any attempt, from the scarcety of their provisions, and the bad weather that might be expected; and adhered to their former opinion, that the most propper station for the fleet was 10 or 20 leagues W.S.W. from Scilly; and that the fleet ought not to continue in a body longer than the 10th of September; and if the weather permitted, to go before Ushent, and

June.

[a] [The battle of Beachy Head was a consequence; the Queen becoming the focus of personal intrigue, and issuing the orders to engage on the private and irresponsible representations of Russell himself, who ought at the time to have been with the fleet, as admiral of the blue squadron.

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not Brest, that so the French might know wee were at sea and then forthwith return to their station of of Scilly. And it was their opinion the fleet woud be to much hazarded to make attempts on that of the enemy in their harbours, at the approach of the winter season. And if her Majesty expected their stay to be longer than the 20th of September, then wanted orders from the King as Statholder of Holland to the Dutch admirall for that purpose as well as for their revictualling; none of the ships of the States being to stay out any longer than that time.

On the 25th Admirall Russell received orders from the admiralty prepared in obedience to her Majesty's pleasure signified in Council, whereby he was directed forthwith to proceed to sea and lie in such a station as he judged most proper as well for meeting the French fleet shoud they come out again, as for the security of the homeward bound trade, the ships in the river Shannon, and intercept succours from France to Irland But when the 1 and 2 rates coud be no longer continued abroad with safety, he was to order them to Spithead, and to appoint the ships of smaller rates, both English and Dutch, which were in a condition for it, to cruise untill the 30th of September, if their provisions woud last so long, in the most proper station to answer those services; which, the admiralty thought, shud be between 20 and 30 legues S.W. off of Cape Clear, tho' left it to his determination; and was further directed that when he came in with the great ships, to appoint 3 English flag officers to remain with the cruising squadron. Persuant to these orders the Admirall put to sea with the very first oppertunity of a wind, and on the 31 of August, in the morning, he made the land of Ushent; but not seeing any ships, he concluded the French had no mind to come out on their own coast, concerning themselves with lying safe in port; tho' if they had thought proper to engage, they might have done it with great advantage. He then steered away to his station of the Lisard, the fleet then consisting of 80 ships; but soon after their coming thither they met a violent storm which forced them to bear up the Channell and into Plymouth

August.

„ 28.

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September 3. Sound; when Capt. Byng, standing into Hamose, was, about 12 at night, forced ashoar under Mount Edgecombe with 11 3rd Rates more, where he remained 4 days before he coud get of, then went into the dock to repair the damage he received. The masts, sails. and riggings of the ships were miserably shattered, which proved the chief damage the fleet sufered,[a] yet the consequences might have been very great. Admirall Russell sailed for Spithead, leaving Sir

„ 8. Clodesley Shovell with orders that when the ships were repaired he shoud send 10 sail to cruise in the Soundings, and afterwards to sail to Spithead with the rest of the fleet. From St. Hellens, Admirall Russell sent the great ships away to Chatham, and the large Dutch ships were ordered home; and a squadron, being formed of the remaining English and Dutch ships, were to cruise under the command of Sir Ralph Delavall to intercept the succours which

„ 30. the French might send to Limerick. When Capt. Byng had

October 23. repaired his ship he sailed from Plymouth to the Nore, and then went up to Chatham where his ship remained.

November 10. When the parlement met, the House of Comons, upon consideration of the state of the nation, enquired into the miscarriages of the fleet and who was the occasion of them;[b] and Mr. Russell presented to the House the proceedings of the fleet during the

1692. last summer, with all his orders and instructions. Mr. Russell was again appointed to comand the fleet that was preparing to put to sea early this year, which was fitted out with all imaginable haste upon advice the Queen received of an invasion from France by an army to be comanded by King James in person.

April 24. [The ships that were ready at the latter end of Aprill were under Sir Ralph Delavall, who was a little before arrived with a squadron from Cales, and ordered on the coast of France to get intelligence; and upon advice that the French intended to come out he was to

[a] [This is not correct. Two ships, the Coronation, a 2nd rate, and the Harwich, a 3rd rate, were lost, with the greater part of their men. (Burchett, 448-9; Home Office Records, Admiralty, No. 10.)]

[b] [Nov. 12. Cf *Parl. Hist.* v. 657.]

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join Admirall Carter then crusing with a squadron in the Channell, and to keep between La Hogue and the Isle of Wight, till Admirall Russell shoud join him, with the great ships and the Dutch; which the friends of King James had represented to the enemy woud be a long time before they coud do, and how disaffected severall of the sea officers were, and pressed the attacking of our fleet before they coud be reinforced. Which occasioned the French King to send positive orders[a] to Mr. de Tourville to engage them, without waiting to be joined by the squadron comanded by the Count d'Estrees from Toulon. So that the French admirall imediately put to sea in quest of the English; and being of of Plymouth was forced back by a strong easterly wind; while Admirall Russell, who by comission bearing date the 3 of December last, was appointed admirall of the fleet, judged it of so much importance to join the seperate fleets that he lost not one moment; and contrary to the advice of the pilotts and many officers of the fleet, he sailed from the Nore with the great ships with him and plied it down over the flatts, and through the sands with a scanty wind; and fortunately got through without any accident; and of Rye was joined May 9.
by the Dutch, and at St. Helens by Delavall and Admirall Carter, „ 13.
who had met with each other but 4 days before. The fleet being now joyned, Admirall Russell called a councill of warr and according to the resolutions taken there, he sailed on the 18 of May towards the coast of France; and the day after, of Cape Barfleur, in the morning, the scouts made the signal of seeing the enemy. Whereupon the fleet drew into a line of battle; and at 4 they were seen standing southward forming their line on the same tack as our ships; and the admirall soon after brought to and layd by with his fore topsail to the mast, to give oppertunity for the rest of the ships

[a] [The cause and meaning of these orders have naturally been a fertile source of discussion in France. There seems little doubt that they sprang out of the ignorance and jealousy of M. de Pontchartrain, the Minister of the Navy at that time. *See* "M. le Bonrepaus et le disastre de la Hougue," in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1877).]

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to place themselves as they had been before directed. At 8 our line well formed; the Dutch in the van, the admirall in the centre, and the blue in the rear. By 9 the enemy's van had almost streched as far southwards as ours, their admirall and rear-admirall of the blue who were in the rear closing the line; and their vice-admirall of the same division standing towards the rear of our fleet. About 10 the French admirall boar down upon the English fleet with great resolution, tho' but little wind; and Admirall Russell, who still lay by, observing that Monsieur de Tourveville had put out his signal for battel, comanded his shoud be spread untill the French, who had the weather gage, were come as near as they thought convenient. At half an hour after 11 Monsieur Tourvill in the Royall Sum brought to and began the fight within musket shot; but in an hour and half rowed of with great disorder; and then continued that famous battle of La Hogue in which was burnt and destroyed the admirall's ship, with great part of their fleet, with some transports and small vessels with amunition, in sight of King James army of French and Irish under orders to embark for England; which by this victory they were prevented doing, and rendered the French incapable of putting large fleets to sea during this war, that coud contend with those of England.]

May 25. But the Royal Oak, being one of the last that was fitted out, and Capt. Byng only meeting the fleet in La Hogue Bay as they were returning, he had not the fortune to have any share in the battle fought there and to partake of the honour of that day.

„ 28. [And 3 days after they all came to an anchor at St. Helens and Spithead, that the ships might be repaired which had received damage in the engagement; and here Admirall Carter[a] and Hastings,

June 3. who were slain in the fight, were carried ashoar, and with the honour due to their rank were interred. When Admirall Russell received advice that the French ships which had escaped were at

„ 14. St. Malo watching an oppertunity to get into Brest, he sailed from

[a] [A pension of £200 per annum was settled on his widow, by Admiralty Minute, 9 Oct. 1692.]

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St. Helens to intercept them, with what ships were ready; and after a fortnight's cruises he anchored in Guernsey Road and detached June 3.
Admirall Rook with a strong squadron of that port to inform them- „ 4.
selves of it, the fleet then sailing to the westward, and some days
after put into Torbay. Admirall Rook soon returned and repre- „ 9.
sented the great difficulties of carrying their ships into St. Malo „ 13.
from the number of rocks and rapidity of the tydes there; he there-
fore altered his intentions of going in there and put to sea, sending „ 15.
a strong squadron of the Isle of Bas to wait for them and returned
with the rest of the fleet into Torbay, intending that after his ships July 22.
had taken in their provision and water to relieve them; but]
upon some orders that Admirall Russell received. he sent Sir „ 26.
John Ashby with a very strong squadron, in which was Capt. Byng,
off the Isle of Bas to intercept that of the French from St Malo;
but they met with a great deal of bad weather and no success; so
after a fortnight's cruize they to returned to Torbay, but not finding August 9.
the admirall there they joined him at St. Helens. Sir John Ashby,
who was left to comand the fleet, remouved into the Eagle, and
Capt. Byng received a comission to comand her, and left the Royal September 15.
Oak; and when Sir John sailed to the westward he remained with
the squadron under Admirall Rook, who sailed for the river Medway. „ 27.
At the Nore Sir Ralph Delaval hoisted his flag on board Capt. Byng
to go up to Blackstakes, and Capt. Byng went up to Gillingham and November 2.
not more to sea this year.

Admirall Russell having some differences with the Earl of Nottingham, then Secretary of State, was resolved not to serve with him; and, having acquainted the King therewith, had laid down his comand of the fleet; so the ships which were preparing for the next summer expedition was placed under the direction of Mr. Killigrew, Sir Clodesly Shovell, and Sir Ralph Delavall, who by a joined commission of the 18 March, 1692-3, acted as admirall of the fleet. Capt. Byng was in so much esteem with them that they made choice of him for their first captain, a post which has the pay and rank of a rear admirall. But as he professed an attachment to

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Mr. Russell he took this opportunity of shewing it by a refusal of this [great] offer from them; and Admirall Russell being now laid aside, he had but little thoughts himself of going to sea any longer; so that he [obtained leave from the admiralty to lay down his comision] and retired in the country to Everton, to be in the neighborhood of his friend and relation Sir John Hewett, making at that time a purchase at Southill in Bedfordshire not far from it, [and employing himself in building a house there, in order to fix his family there]. But his retirement lasted no longer than towards the latter end of this year, when by the turn of affaires Mr. Russell was again appointed admirall of the fleet, and who making him his first captain, had sent to acquaint him with it. So that upon his coming to London he received a comission which gave him good

1694. January 1. pretensions in the navy. As soon as Capt. Byng received it he went to Chatham, where some ships were fitting out. Near the

March 12. midle of March they got to the Nore, and in some weeks more to

April 22. St. Helens, where the ships fitted out at Portsmouth laid ready with Lord Berkley, rear admirall of the blue. Mr. Russell then

„ 27. coming to take on him the comand of the fleet, hoisted his flag on board the Britannia. The business of the fleet passing through the first captain to the admirall and who being esteemed as his councill, it will be propper to mention here the proceedings of the fleet under

May 5. the comand of Admirall Russell. Soon after he came on board, he sailed to the westward with part of the fleet, being about 34 men of war English and Dutch, besides some fireships; intending to cruise off the Lizard, while some troops that were designed for Brest under

„ 8. Generall Talmash were preparing to embark. Off of Portland a ship joyned the fleet with the gentleman Admiral Russell had sent to Brest to make some discoveries, and who disguising himself like a saylor on board a Sweed ship, had by that means an oppertunity to make his observations without suspicion even of those of the ship he was in. Upon the intelligence he brought, 2 men of war of war[a] and a fireship was sent to destroy a convoy the French had

[a] [Monmouth, Capt. Pickard, and Resolution. (Burchett, 496.)]

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ready to sail, and which lay in Comerat or Betheaume Bay, which persuing very closely, most of them ran ashoar, and burnt a man of warr, two frigotts, with 25 merchantmen and brought off 2 with them. So they soon returned to the fleet with success. But Admirall Russell meeting soon after with bad weather off of Scilly, May 10.
and being informed the French fleet was gone from Brest to Toulon, „ 17.
he sailed to Torbay, where not making any stay he returned to St. „ 22.
Helens. At this time Sir Clodesley Shovell with the Dutch flags joined him with the men of warr, and 6 or 7000 land forces on board, but were kept back a week by calms and contrary winds. When they weighed, the whole fleet consisted of above 200 sail, „ 31.
and the next day, being at sea, Admirall Russell held a councill of warr to settle the farther dispositions on the project on Brest; where it was agreed that the English and Dutch ships which had the forces on board shoud land the troops in Commeret Bay, in order to attack the fortress on the right hand side going into Brest; and on the success they shoud meet with, to consider further wether the fleet shoud go into Brest water and attack the forts going into the harbour, in order to bombarde the town, or attack the ships that lay there; while Admirall Russell shoud take with him that part of the fleet which had no soldiers on board into the Mediterrenean, to prevent the designs of the French fleet against Spain, which had sliped from Brest and was gone thither; and thereby to preserve the loss of Catalonia. Accordingly when they came off of Ramhead, the Lord John Berkeley, admirall of the blue, steered for Ushent with about 60 men of war, English and Dutch, and the June 6.
forces on board them; and parted from Admirall Russell, who proceeded to the Mediterenean with about 47 ships of the line, English and Dutch, besides fireships &c. But meeting with bad weather in the Bay of Biscay, 2 tenders were foundered; and being off the Rock of Lisbon sent orders by land to Rear-Admirall Nevill, who „ 25.
was at Cales, to joyn him off of Cape Spartell, which he accordingly „ 30.
did with Vice-Admirall Callemberg and 17 ships of the line. So the fleet consisted now of 64 ships. The same day, a councill of

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war was called, and upon information that the French fleet lay off Barcelona, it was resolved to proceed thither, and the merchants' ships which were at Cales, bound up the Levant, had directions to go to Cartagena. Before Admirall Russell was got into the
July 2. Streights he was joined by the admirall of Spain with 14 ships
„ 17. off Cape Paul.[a] Another councill of war was now held were it was determined that the ships bound to Turkey shoud remain at Cartagena till further intelligence should be had of the French fleet; and to stop at Altea to water, the fleet not having more
„ 21. than for 14 days; in which bay he found the Marquis of Camerassa[b] with 22 Spanish gallies, who had orders from the King of Spain
„ 24. to join him in the service of the campeign. While the fleet lay here they had intelligence that the French fleet were retired to Toulon, and the gallies into Marseilles; upon which an express was sent to Cartagena with directions for the Turkey fleet to
„ 27. preceed on their voyage, keeping the Barbary coast.[c] When the fleet had completed their watering they sailed from Altea Bay and very soon afterwards came to an anchor before Barcelona. Here
„ 29. the Marquis de Villena, vice-roy of Catalonia, came to visit Admirall
„ 30. Russell, who returned it the next day and was saluted at his landing
„ 31. and going off by the canon of the town. Don Antonio Piementel, general of the artillery, visited the admirall in the name of the King and Queen of Spain, with letters from them, and the magistrates of the citty went to complement him. These ceremonys
August 1. being over, he writ a letter to the admirall proposing that 8 or 10000 soldiers be put ashoar from the fleet to reinforce the Spanish army, or that the fleet might go in persuit of the French

[a] [Cape de Palos and 17 July are in agreement with Burchett, 506, but not with the previous clause, "got into the Streights," which is clearly a mistake. Cape de Gate was first written, but erased in favour of Cape Paul.]

[b] [Baltasar, 5th Marquis of Camarasa, general of the galleys of Naples and Vice-roy of Aragon. *See* Burgos, *Blason de España*, tom. ii. 129.]

[c] This extreme care for the safety of the Turkey fleet must be referred to the terrible disaster which befell the Smyrna fleet in the previous year off Cape St. Vincent. (*See* Burchett, 485.)]

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and endeavour to attack them; which letter being considered in a councill of warr, and according to the resolutions then taken, the viceroy was acquainted that neither the ships of Great Britain or of the States Generall had any soldiers aboard; that the French being retired within the fortifications of Toulon that were very strong, it might be losing of time with little hopes of doing any service there; but on any intelligence of their being at sea, or in any port where they might be attacked with probability of success, the fleet woud immediately proceed to engage them; or that in case he woud undertake any enterprise upon the sea coast with the army, in which the fleet coud be assisting, they woud readily embrace the oppertunity, so that it was done without delay, since they had not provisions for a longer time than for their passage home. The viceroy in return acquainted Admirall Russell that the only enterprise which coud be attempted on the coast was the regaining of Palamos, in which the sea forces woud be very usefull; and in such case the Spanish army shoud be reinforced from the fleet, or if this was not approuved of, that the fleet might make some invasion on the coast of France &c. After a council was held, August 5. Admirall Russell, according to the sentiments of it, answered him that the fleet was provided for an engagement at sea, but not for invasions on shoar; [and mentioned their being strangers to the coast], and that he had already been informed they had no land forces on board to reinforce the Spanish army; but that if he thought it convenient to send soldiers in the gallies and a fleet to make an attempt upon Palamos, they were ready to proceed thither and give all possible assistance therein; that upon an assault, the boats and small vessels of the fleet shoud be armed and employed therein. The vice-roy then acquainted the admirall that, the Spanish forces being inferior to the French, he thought it not advisable to attempt Palamas or any other place, disiring to be acquainted how long he shoud remain on that coast. The admirall acquainted him of the want of provisions in the fleet and of the necessity of retiring in 5 or 6 days towards the Streights' mouth.

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1694. August 16. The viceroy was apprehensive that if the fleet left the coast of Catalonia the French fleet woud come before Barcelona; which not being to be prevented, it was to be kept secret and given out they were going to the eastward. Then with the land breeze the fleet weighed, leaving the gallies at Barcelona, and at first stood eastward; but when out at sea they proceeded westward till they September 4. came off of Malaga, where Admirall Russell anchored to water the fleet; when, contrary to his expectations, he received orders from his Majesty, under his sign manuel and royal signet, dated in August 7, requiring him to continue in these seas to prevent the „ 5. French doing further injury in Catalonia; and a councill of war being held, it was agreed to proceed to Alicant as soon as the fleet was watered, that the Dutch squadron might be furnished with provisions which were ready at Cartagena for them.

„ 6. The next day the fleet sailed and soon anchored in Alicant Road.

„ 10. At this time Mr. Russell sent Rear-admirall Nevil with 10 ships to

„ 11. cruise to the southward of Ivica, to gain intelligence of the French. Upon his* arrival here, falling ill of a feaver and bloody flux, he was obliged to go ashoar for his recovery, and, striking his own flag, gave Vice-admirall Aylmer a comission to comand the fleet in his

„ 13. absence; who sailing to the southward of Ivica was joined by

„ 22. Admirall Nevill, and after a short cruise, neither meeting or hearing of the French, they returned to Alicant; on which Admirall Russell directed a council of war to be held to consider if it was necessary for the fleet to continue longer in the sea, and how they shoud intercept the French ships that might attempt going thro' the Streights, that were ready at Toulon to proceed to Brest when

„ 23. an oppertunity offered. It was there thought most adviseable to sail through the Streights and then consider what might be further

„ 25. necessary. The admirall being now recovered went on board, re-

„ 26. assumed the comand of the fleet, and the next day sailed according

„ 30. to what was resolved on. They soon got to the Streights, were

October 2. they plied 2 or 3 days, and then held another council of warr,

* [Sc. Russell'.]

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where the Dutch admiral represented that their want of provisions woud not permit them to keep the sea longer than 4 days; and it was then considered if the English fleet should continue at sea after the Dutch shoud be gone ; and it being thought advisable not to seperate the fleet, they determined to remain out 4 days longer and then to proceed to Cadiz. Before the admirall went in thither with the fleet, he sent to desire the Governor to order the ships of the severall nations that lay there to remouve and clear the bay for the fleet ; but when he came in, it was crowded with many ships that saluted him as he came to an anchor ; and was presently after October 7. complemented by the governor, and the ceremonies of saluting passed.

Upon a letter received from the King of Spain and an express from Barcelona, Admirall Russel held a council of warr, where it „ 11. was determined to put to sea as soon as the Dutch ships were victualed ; and while they were getting ready the King's orders „ 18. was considered for sending home 10 English and 8 Dutch ships; where it was thought not advisable to send them away till they had further intelligence of the disposition of the enemy's fleet; and afterwards at another council, it was determined to sail off Cape Spartell „ 22. and then proceed up the Streights to Malaga ; then return and lye of Cape Spartell. While the fleet was in Cadiz, by the best accounts they received it was judged the French designed not to pass the Streights, but were retired to Toulon and intended not to come out now the winter was coming on ; so at a council, it was „ 29. determined that it was not proper for the fleet to go to sea and run the hazard of bad weather now expected. It was resolved to continue in the bay in a constant condition to sail upon any notice of the enemy's proceedings; and cruizers to be laid on such stations as to give them the most timely intelligence. The fleet wintered at November and Cales, alway in a readiness to sail, and therefore few at time were December. in the Puntalls in order to be cleaned. The King of Spain desired of Admirall Russell to transport 7,000 men from Italy to Barcelona; but he represented the difficulties of receiving troops on board men

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of war; but woud engage to protect such transports as shoud be provided for that service; but notwithstanding the governor of Cadiz delivered him another letter from the King on this subject, he in discourse convinced him that the same was not feasable. At the latter end of this year Admirall Russell received a comision to be admiral, chief comander, and captain generall of their Majesties' navy and ships employed in the Narrow Seas and the Mediterenean.

1695, March. The providing transport ships for the troops in Italy was carried on by the Spaniards very slowly, it being March before they were ready; so that when the governor of Cales desired that a convoy might be sent for them the admirall was unwilling to send any, least it shoud be, with the forces, intercepted in their passage from Finale to Barcelona; but thought they shoud go under the protection of the whole fleet, which woud be ready to sail in a little time.

April 10. When Admirall Russell received the account of the Queen's interment he solemnized it by firing all the guns of his own ship after the manner of funeralls; and after the rear-admirall of the red had begun to fire 6 guns, that squadron fired all theirs; next the Dutch, then the blew squardron, after the same manner; which lasted about 6 hours, and then Admirall Russell hoisted his flag again (which had been struck half mast from the first notice he received of the Queen's death to this day, as the like was done by all the other admiralls); and the next day, being that of the King's

„ 11. coronation, it was celebrated accordingly.

„ 30. The last day of Aprill the fleet sailed from Cadiz, the English

May 9. being 31 ships of the line, and the Dutch 14. When they arrived

„ 10. at Alicant, persuant to former resolutions, a council of war was held to consult of their further proceeding; where it was determined that the fleet shoud go off of Barcelona and take their measures from the intelligence that might be gained of the preparations of

„ 14. the French by the ships sent of of Toulon. The fleet then weighed,

„ 18. and as they passed by Altea were joined by Admirall Calemberg with a Dutch squadron; and soon after arrived at Barcelona, where

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they were saluted by the town with 41 pieces of cannon, which complement was returned by Admirall Russell with the like number. Here accounts were received that the French at Toulon had not fitted their ships for the sea; and it being under the consideration of a council of war wether the whole fleet or a detachment of it 1695, May 19.
shoud go to Finale with the transport ships, to convoy the soldiers from hence to Barcelona, it was agreed the fleet shoud go as far as off the Isles of Ayres,[a] and then send 8 ships thither and remain on a station till they were again joined by them; after which Admirall Russell sailed with the fleet to the eastward, and off of Ayres sent „ 20.
Admirall Nevill to convoy the transport ships. As the admirall sailed along the coast of France, they were much allarmed; the country being up in arms and everything made ready to defend themselves from any attack of the fleet. It was at a council of war „ 29.
not thought proper to go within the fortifications to bombard Marseilles till they shoud have better information of the place, but to send some light ships with propper officers to view the place and sound the channell going in. While Rear-admirall Mitchell and June 3.
Weston,[b] rear-admirall of the Dutch, as also Bregadier Stuart and some of the chief ingeeneers were going in to view Marseilles, a violent storm arose and the fleet being blown so much to leeward, they could not reach the port, it was resolved to go off the Isles of Ayres in „ 4.
expectation to joyn Admirall Nevill with the troops from Finale. They were by bad weather blown of that station; but when they got on it again, Admirall Nevill with the transports appeared. A „ 14.
council of war being held the admirall layd before it the intelligence he had received of the French fleet fitting out; so they resolved that only 1 man of war shoud convoy the transports to Barcelona, in order to keep their strength together; and soon after the fleet sailed to Caglieri, coming to anchor in the bay near Cape Sarol,[c] „ 22.
and there watered; during which time Admirall Russell desired the vice-roy to lay an embargo upon all shipping till he returned on the

[a] [Hyères.] [b] [Sc. Evertsen.] [c] [Cape Savora.]

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French coast, that they might not know of his being there and take that oppertunity of going from Toulon to the westward.

July 3. When the fleet was watered it was considered at a council of war if they shoud wait any longer for the Turkey fleet, in expectation of which they had layn here 14 days; and after severall different opinions, it was agreed to continue here till their arrivall, and send two or 3 ships of Cape Carbonera for them, their safety being of
„ 9. the greatest consequence. The frigats returning without any account of them, it was agreed to sail to Barcelona; for by consuming their provisions where they lay, they might afterwards be incapable of puting other designs in execution; and to leave a frigat with neces-
„ 11. sary orders for the Turkey ships. The same morning the fleet sailed from Caglieri Bay, they being perceived, Admirall Russell sent them
„ 18. orders to follow; standing to the westward and making the high land over Barcelona, he ordered the Turkey convoy to go to Alfaques and there to remain till further orders, and came himself to
„ 20. an anchor in Barcelona. Here it was considered what the fleet shoud do; and upon resolving to go on the coast of Provence to see what coud be done upon Toulon, Marseilles, or other places on that coast, Admirall Russell writ to the vice-roy of Catalonia to acquaint him with his designs, and desired to know if 12 Spanish gallies there coud be spared to assist them in such as might be executed; upon which the vice-roy desired a conference off of Blanes,[a] in order to make an attempt upon Palamos or other places in the province, that might be of service to the King of Spain. Which proposition
1695, July 24. being considered in a council of war, it was thought so reasonable that they altered their former designs and resolved to go off of Blanes; and some ships, which by being defective might render their return home very hazardous, were sent to Cadiz in order to proceed to England, with orders to take with them the Turkey ships
„ 30. at Alfaques. The fleet then sailed for Blanes, as did also the Spanish gallies comanded by the Duke of Navarre, tho' Admirall Russell was more inclined to stay longer at Barcelona; since by sending

[a] [About midway between Barcelona and Palamos.]

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part of the fleet home, the French, if they came out, might be too strong, before he was joined by some Dutch ships he expected; and writ a complaining letter to the Spanish court of their dilatory proceedings, and assured them if nothing was undertaken, he woud leave the Spanish affaires to themselves, and only consult those of his master. As soon as the fleet came before Blanes, Don Juan di July 31.
Ocuña, a Spanish gentleman, came off to Admiral Russell to acquaint him of the vice-king's arrival there from the camp; and as Admirall Russell was going ashoar to visit him, he was met by the vice-king and the Prince of Hesse, who were coming of in a gally on board his ship, whither they returned, and held a conference, where it was agreed the vice-roy shoud decamp and follow the enemy who were retired towards Palamos; and that at the same time the fleet shoud appear there, and then further measures concerted for attacking that place. Accordingly the fleet with the Spanish and 5 Sicilian gallies sailed from the Bay of Palamos and August 6.
came to an anchor before that town at a league distance. The next „ 7.
day in the evening, the vice-roy came to Finales with his army and encamped in the valley down to the sea side; and when it was night Admirall Russell ordered two bombships to be towed in, who threw a few in, and were fired at without any ill effect.

It was agreed to land some forces from the fleet for any sudden „ 8.
attack, since they coud not be spared long. Accordingly the next morning some soldiers of Brigadier Generall Stuarts, some com- „ 9.
panies of marines, and some Dutch under Count Nassaw were landed, being 7 battalions; and having joined the vice-roy, they were posted on the right of the army, and encamped that night at Colingat,[a] and the next morning marching from thence, invested „ 10.
the town of Palamos in sight of the French army, who the next „ 11.
day drew up in a line of battle and advanced as if they intended an attack. But the vice-roy was so well posted that nothing passed but skirmishes, and on the night they retreated to Palafregeau.[b]
The next morning the bomb vessells being towed in bombarded „ 12.

[a] [? Colonge.]

[b] [A few miles to the eastward.]

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the town and castle, with such success that they set fire to some of their magazines; and the town burnt so fiercely that part of it, as well as the castle, was by night ruined. At this time 5 Dutch ships from Cales joined the fleet; and Mr. Russell receiving intelligence that the French fleet, being 60 sail of the line besides severall
August 13. gallies, was ready to sail, it was thought advisable in a councill of warr to embark again their forces and proceed to Toulon in search of the French, to prevent their getting through the Streights. The Spaniards, who had no other cannon than field-pieces, and being very ill provided with other necessarys for a seige, as the English were to be withdrawn, there appeared but little probability of reducing the town soon, which Admirall Russell represented to the vice-roy, and advised him to raise the siege, which 2 days
„ 15. after he accordingly did. The seige being raised, the fleet sailed
„ 17. for Toulon, and coming before the town, some ships being sent to
„ 20. look into the road brought account of seeing about 30 sail, most of which with their yards and topmasts up, but coud not discern if
„ 22. their sails were bent. From hence the fleet stood away to the
„ 31. westward, and, sailing by Majorca and Ivica, came to an anchor in
September 3. Altea Bay by Cape Martin. While the fleet remained here employed in watering, Admirall Russell held a councill of war in which the English were of opinion to cruise in these parts till the latter end of the month; but the Dutch admirall was against that proposition, since he had directions to send 16 ships of the line home early enough to get into Holland before the ice shuts up their ports; so, there being a difficulty to reconcile these diferent opinions, the councill broke up without coming to any conclusion, refering
„ 4. the consideration of it till the next day. When the council met again and Admirall Calemberg shew'd his instructions, there was a great debate thereon, and, considering that as a detachment of the English and Dutch ships were to proceed home, and that there was more reason to believe the French designed to pass the Streights than make any attempts upon the coast of Spain, the season of the year being far advanced, it was thought advisable to sail out of the Streights mouth, to intercept them in their passage and prevent their

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meeting with Sir G. Rooke, who was expected with a squadron to Cadiz. Accordingly the fleet weighed, and off Cape de Gate they September 9.
met with bad weather. When the fleet was passed thro' the Streights,
one of the English cruisers brought into the fleet an Algerine, who „ 19.
put himself under the protection of Admirall Russell; but a Dutch
captain, seising her as a prize, it occasioned great disputes between
the Dutch and English flags; and at a council of war held by
Admirall Calemberg, it was agreed that she shoud be carried to
Cadiz and there lye till the King of England and the States Generall
shoud determine her being made prise or not. With which resolu-
tion Admirall Russell being acquainted with, it was dissatisfactory
to him; yet to avoid any differences he desired they woud value
the ship, and in case the King and and the States deemed her a
prise, he woud pay for her. But after another council held by the
Dutch, they delivered her up, and Admirall Russell sent a ship with
her to see her safe in Tangiers. After the fleet had layn 2 or 3
days between Cape Spartell and Trafalgar, it went into Cadiz, „ 23.
where Admirall Russell appointed what ships shoud proceed home
with him, and what shoud stay with Sir David Mitchell. He then 1695.
sailed from Cadiz with 19 English and 16 Dutch men of war, and October 2.
after 3 weeks sail with good weather they came into the Soundings, „ 24.
meeting with the ship that was ordered to lye of Scilly to look out
for them. When they got off of Portsmouth, Admirall Russell November 4.
sent in those ships that were ordered to be laid up there, and con-
tinued himself to the eastward with the rest of the fleet, till he „ 6.
came off of Dover; where he struck his flag and with Capt. Byng
went ashoar, leaving the ships designed for Chatham and the river
to proceed thither. In the beginning of this year the assasination 1696.
of the king was intended, and was to have been attended with an February.
invasion, the preparations of which was carried on in France with
the greatest secrecy. But when the plot was discovered, such dili-
gence was used in fitting out some ships that the French soon saw
a sufficient fleet on their coasts to prevent their designs. Admirall
Russell was appointed to command this fleet, and Capt. Byng was
again appointed his 1st captain; and immediately he went down „ 24.

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February 25. to Deal, where he hoisted his flag on board the Victory; and the sooner to man the fleet, not only an enbargo was laid on all the merchant ships but the tenders and boats were employed to take
„ 26. every 3rd man out of those outward bound. At a council of war it was resolved to sail over to the coasts of France by the first
„ 27. oppertunity; so the next day Admirall Russell turned out of the Downes, to lose no time, and was joined by Sir Clod. Shovell with about 13 sail, besides 11 English and Dutch commanded by Rear-Admirall Vandergoose[a] from Spithead, and the next day his numbers were encreased by 10 ships from Plymouth. The fleet now consisted of 53 ships of the line, besides frigots and fireships with which he was standing eastward along the French coast. The admirall detached Sir Clod. Shovell with his division to look into Bologne Bay, and the Lord Berkeley with his into Gravelin; and
„ 28. going himself off of Calais, perceived the harbour much crouded with vessels, which were judged to be near 300. From thence he sailed towards Gravelin, and there discovered 20 sail riding in the Pits, which upon sight of the English fleet weighed and anchored in Flemish Road; so that Admirall Russell anchored off this place
„ 29. and was joined by Sir Clo. Shovell that evening. Next day a council of war was held to consider which way the ships in Flemish Road coud be best attacked; which they were resolved to do if the pilots woud take charge of the 4th rates; who being all sent for and consulted with about the depths of the channells &c., were offered large rewards if they woud undertake it. But after a long consultation among themselves, they declared their unwillingness to take charge of them, by reason if some of the ships coud get in, there was no place for their anchoring by the ennemies' ships, who lay under the protection of strong fortifications; besides the inconveniency of the smoke from the enemies or our own fire, as to their sight of the land marks, and the danger of any ship on the loss of any mast; so that this attempt was then given over. Yet Admirall
March 1. Russell sent the 4th rates and small frigots to anchor to the westward of the Cross Ledge, in order to observe the ships in Flemish

[a] [Van der Goes.]

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Rood, and sent Admirall Shovell with some small frigots to sound the channell, and by viewing the ships in Dunkirk to know if it was possible to annoy the enemy. Sir Clodesly stood within the Cross Ledge as far as he could, and returning to the fleet acquainted Admirall Russell that 9 men of war lay under the protection of the forts, and was of opinion nothing could be done against them, unless they could anchor by them; which was not thought practicable. There being therefore no prospect of attacking the French ships Admirall Russell thought it not necessary to remain in this place longer, so he sailed back with part of the fleet to the Downes, March 6. leaving Admirall Shovell with 18 ships of the line to observe the motions of the French and to wait for the bomb vessells, which was designed for bombarding of Calais. He soon anchored in the Downes, where he landed the next day with Capt. Byng. Thus he „ 9. ended a short expedition, which prevented the intended invasion; „ 10. and upon his very appearance before Calais, King James who was there, quitted the place, despairing of any success.

This was the last expedition Capt. Byng was in during this war, which ended the year following; for on his return to England, he April 30. was made one of the Principal Officers and Commissioners for registring seamen; in which employment he took great pains with the other members of that board to regulate this new office; but the difficulties in the execution of that buisiness being insurmountable, as appear by the representations they made to the admiralty, the office itself was suppressed in 1699, when it was found it answered not the intentions of it. From the 16 July 1699, upon the opinion of the comissioners of the navy that, for easing the charge of the register office, it might be managed by members of their board not charged with perticular offices, the comissioners of the admiralty directed a retrenchment, amounting to 1500 pr. an. to be made, and the office to be managed in the manner proposed by them. By vertue of that order from the admiralty, Capt. Byng was then discharged of that employment, for which he had a sallary of 300 per an., and he was then placed upon half pay as first captain to the 1697, to the admirall of the fleet, being equall to that of a rear admirall; October 18.

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which he continued to receive by the general order from the
November 2. Admiralty, in November 1699 to 31 of December following. But on some occasion or other there was a perticular order from the Admiralty, dated November 1700, setting forth, that by an order of Council, an allowance was established on a certain number of officers during such time as they should be out of employment on shoar; and that the allowance therein settled on the first captain to the admirall of the fleet did of right belong to Capt. Byng, in respect of his seniority in that employment. They therefore directed that the said allowance to be made him from the 1st of January last, 1699-1700, and to continue so long as he shoud be out of employment, or till further order; by vertue whereof he continued receiving his half pay to the 31 of December 1701, when not unlikely another dispute arose concerning his receiving it; for it was not till January 1707 that he had an order for receiving what was due to him the remaining time; when the Prince of Denmark directed his being paid from the 1st of January 1701-2, to the 4 of May 1702, the day the war was proclaimed against France and Spain (but of this
1702. hereafter). Among the alterations which King William intended to make in the ministry a little before his death, the Earl of
January 18. Pembroke was declared by him to he Lord High Admirall, tho' it was only for the present, it not being intended he shoud remain so long, or only till it coud be brought about to put the management of the navy into the hands of the Earl of Orford; yet as the French were making preparations for hostility, great diligence was used to fitt out a fleet, and an expedition was intended to Cadiz in conjunction with the Dutch. The Earl of Pembroke was fully bent upon going to sea and comanding in person, tho' neither a seaman or a soldier, and which the present ministry neither intended or had any liking to; but knew not how to prevent. At the same time the Junto were desirous that Capt. Byng shoud be his first secretary and likewise his first captain at sea, as the person to be with him they coud most confide in. The first of these stations was considerable, yet he excused himself from accepting it, as not thinking himself fully qualified for it, or that he could well discharge a post

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of that nature [desiring that he might remain only the 1st captain to the Lord Admirall]. But they, perticularly the Earl of Orford, Lord Sunderland, and Mr. Priestman, insisting it might be as they had concerted it, he was declared by the King to both those employments, tho' Capt. Lake[a] was the person the Earl of Pembroke designed for his first captain. [At the King's Levy, my Lord Malbrough was the first to wish him joy, passing the King at the chymney fire to come to him, telling him that amongst all his friends none rejoiced more than himself at his preferment]. About March 8. a week after, when King William died, the affaires at Court had another turn, and among the alterations then made, the Prince of Denmark was declared to be Lord High Admirall, and Lord Marlbro' then became in great favour with the Queen. On the Tuesday following, Capt. Byng was at the Lord Malbro's levy, when he acquainted him of the alterations designed in the navy, and of the Queen's intentions not to continue him in the posts he had under the Earl of Pembroke, assuring him it was not from any disregard to his person, for the Queen was desirous to serve him, but in some other way; and that as to himself, it being now in his power, hoped he was persuaded from the friendship which had long been between them that he shoud embrace all oppertunities to serve him, and desired of him to name what woud be most pleasing to him as an equivalent [for he might remain satisfied of his obtaining what he wished].

There had allways been a good acquaintance between them; it had its first rise from his having been a leftenant with his brother Charles Churchill in Trelawny's regiment, and the friendship likewise with his brother George, who was in the sea service; tho' he had lately conceived a prejudice against him for his attachment to Lord Orford, with whom he was at a variance, occasioned by the

[a] [Leake, afterwards Sir John, died, admiral of the fleet, 1720. According to Charnock (*Biographia Navalis*, ii. 169), Leake was recommended to the Earl of Pembroke by George Churchill, and the preference given to Byng may perhaps have had something to do with the grudge Churchill seems to have borne him.]

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filling up the vacancy of a flag soon after the battle of La Hogue; tho' the dispute was only between Aylmer and Mitchell (who was the youngest officer, yet claimed his pretentions from having been 1st captain to Admirall Russell). The King had some difficulty in whose favour to decide it, and asked the opinion of Admirall Russell, who declined giving any, as having nothing to do with the sea; but being pressed by the King, told him Mr. Aylmer was by much the senior officer, so the King determined it for him, and Mitchell was to have the next vacancy, for Lord Marlberough not being then in favour, the King was resolved not to make his brother the Admirall, tho' the senior officer of them both; he[a] was therefore extremely disapointed not to be the flag, and thought it entirely owing to Admirall Russell, as having recommended Mr. Aylmer to his prejudice; and tho' he was made sensible how much he was out of the question, yet from that time they had a dislike to each other. When the Queen had appointed the Prince of Denmark Lord High Admirall, he sufficiently repaired the injustice done him;[b] for being appointed of his councill, and taking the oppertunity of the influence he had over the Prince, he was in an extraordinary manner preferred to be admirall of the blew, and was thereby placed over Mr. Aylmer, vice-admirall of the red, which was the occasion of his[c] laying down and continuing out of the service for many years after. The relation of which affair is more perticularly made, since it will explain other affaires between Capt. Byng and Mr. Aylmer. For to return to the professions of friendship made to Capt. Byng from the favourite minister, he acquainted the Lord Marlbro' in answer to them, that he was extremely well pleased the Queen excused his serving as secretary to the Lord Admirall, which he had only accepted of at the pressing instance of his perticular friends; that from the offers his lordship had made him, that he beged leave to acquaint him that his desires were confined within the limits of his own profession, and having served as first captain with Lord Orford

[a] [Sc. George Churchill.]
[b] [Sc. George Churchill.]
[c] [Sc. Aylmer's.]

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when Admirall of the Fleet, he had some right to expect a flag, but, if that could not be at present, he was desirous of being made a comissioner of the navy; for after the stations he had been in, he coud not serve the Queen but in one of those posts, consisting with his honour, therefore believed neither of them woud be thought unreasonable. With an air of surprise, my Lord Malbro' asked him if that was all he desired? for if so, his request was so modest and reasonable, that he might be assured of having one or the other. But both of them being delayed, [and, notwithstanding Capt. Byng's expectations, his friend Mr. Priestman told him nothing woud be done; for whatever might be his[a] own inclinations, yet his brother George, who was of the Prince's Councill, woud not permit him to do anything, which every day proved more and more. So that] he 1702.
went to Lord Marlbrough's to tell him he plainly saw he was not to meet with any preferment, for that his brother hindered his advancement; he therefore came to him to desire of him his right of being placed on his half-pay, which was a piece of justice he expected, [not desiring any favours]; and that then he shoud trouble him no further. My Lord was very much surprised at what he said, and in a friendly manner diswaded him from his resolution. But Capt. Byng, [convinced he was not to be served, was bent on his receiving his half-pay, and] pressed my Lord for it, as the least thing that coud be done for him. He promised [to obtain that for him, which was no more performed than what he formerly assured him he woud do; yet one morning, as Capt. Byng was at his levy, my Lord Marbro' took notice of him, from among the rest of the crowd that was there, by lifting up his hands, and protested he was ashamed to see him; but begd his face might plead for him, for that he coud by that see he had not been well, and desired him to depend that his affair should be] soon concluded. He afterwards [when the company was retired, took hold of Capt. Byng's hand between both his, and pressing it,] made protestations of his intentions to serve him,

[a] [Sc. Marlborough's.]

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[and that what he required shoud be done before he went for Holland, which was to be in a very few days;] and that as Capt. Byng knew it was in his power [to serve him], he woud do so if there was faith or belief in man; that he shoud take it ill of him if he thought he had the least doubt in him, for it woud be abusing of the friendship there had been between them. He then acquainted him there woud be a councill for the affaires of the admiralty held on the Sunday, and that he might more certainly remember to mouve it there, desired of him to send in his name to him. At which time Capt. Byng attended there himself, and as my Lord was going in gave him his name, who told him [he need not give himself the trouble to stay, but that] he might go and depend on his business being done. He stayed however till the councill rose, and as Lord Pembroke and Duke of Somerset came out, was informed by them both his affair had not been mentioned, [so that he was now very much disapointed at the ill usage he had received, and found himself at a loss how to obtain his right, yet resolving to persist to persue his design,] he went the next day to Lord Marlbroughs, who [going the day after for Holland, he] was not to be seen, and returning next morning found my Lord had set out early for Marget, [which vexed him so much all that day] that he resolved to go after him, [that he might not leave any thing undone which might possibly help him,] imagining from what had passed Lord Malbro' coud not deny him a letter to the Queen. With this view he sat out imediately in the afternoon for Marget; and when he came to Canterbury he stayed there, intending to be early the next morning at Margatte. But as he had set out from thence, he met on the road a messenger going express to court with the account of his Lordship's being sailed early that morning; so that he returned very much disapointed at the ill success he met with in this affair.

However Capt. Byng was willing to pursue it further; and when he returned to London he went to Lord Godolphin's and complained of Lord Marlbrough's treatment, [and desired the assistance of his lordship in this affair;] who thought it so

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reasonable that he promised to speak to the Queen in his favour on the next councill day for the navy affairs. While this remained in suspence Capt. Byng was sent to by the Prince's councill, to comand one of the ships then fitting out. From the ill intention of those who made him this offer, he was much perplexed, and inclined to refuse that comand, as resolving not to go to sea again as a private captain, after serving in the station he had of 1st Captain to Admirall Russell. [But Churchill used all his endeavours to prevent his rising in the fleet, on account of his attachment to Lord Orford; for there was never any other reason for the source of the enemity which was afterwards openly professed between them]. Lord Godolphin was very sincere and had mentioned the affair in councill; but found a strong opposition to what was proposed from Lord Nottingham and Mr. Churchill, who had said that as he would only serve her Majesty upon his own terms, he ought not to be gratified in his request. But those expressions was so warmly answered and denyed by Lord Godolphin that the Queen directed an order to be made out, re-establishing Capt. Byng upon the half pay, to be signed on the next councill day, the meeting of which he attended himself; and as Lord Nottingham went in, he spoke to remind him of the Queen's order; who he found was averse to it from his short answer [that he had it in his hand;] and being in councill, represented to the Queen that it being an affair relating to the admiralty, and somewhat extraordinary, he thought it was propper that the Prince shoud be acquainted with it, for his directions therein; to which Lord Godolphin coud make no objection, [tho' he was of opinion the Queen might very properly do it herself. So that] it being therefore refered to the Prince, his councill made no difficulty what to do, for they had determined he shoud not be placed on the half pay as captain to the Admirall of the fleet, but oblidge him to go to sea again as a private comander. He was now under great difficulty to know in what manner he shoud behave; for he was not only disapointed in not being preferred, as he had reason

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to expect, and afterwards not to get established upon half pay [by which so much injustice was done him;] but he now found a necessity either to go to sea again in a manner he thought inconsistent with his honour, or be [struck out of the navy, and] dismissed the service in which he had such good pretensions, [and so likely to raise himself by]. He therefore advised with Lord Orford and his friends what he shoud do; [who told him to consider if his fortune was such as woud permit him to leave the service, and remain contented with it; which if he found not to be sufficient, or himself satisfied with what he had, he must submit and go to sea again in the manner they woud have him; for that there was no remedy;] his enemies being strongest, any strugling against them woud be in vain, [since they were resolved to stand to their point. So the necessity of being obliged to serve in the manner they woud have him, or he leave the service, with the thought he had of his present fortune, and that which he promised himself to have by continuing in the service, perplexed him much; yet] at last he determined to write to the Prince of Denmark to acquaint him with his case; and in his letter appealed to him as a soldier, if in honour he coud serve in a lower station than he had done; that if his Royal Highness thought it consistent with it that he shoud, he was very ready to obey his comands and serve in any station his Royal Highness shoud think was fit for him. Upon this letter the Prince of Denmark appointed him to attend him at the office the next day; but not coming that morning, the Prince's councill sent for him, and acquainted him the Prince had delivered his letter to them, and that it was his pleasure he shoud go to sea again a private captain, offering him any ship in the navy he woud have. He replied that since the Prince had directed he shoud go to sea again in that station, it was equal to him if the ship he was to have was a first or a 6th Rate. They named several to him, but he made not choice of any; so on the 26 of June they came to a resolution that the Prince be mouved to appoint Capt. Byng to the first ship vacant fit for him to comand, according to his

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seniority; and on the 29 they made a minute for him to comand the Nassau, with leave to stay in town till such time as the ship came out of the dock. So that a comission was made out for him accordingly for that ship, and he was to comand a squadron off of Dunkirk, to lie for the French squadron there; but while the Nassau was cleaning in the dock and the other ships designed to go with him were fitting out, Monsieur de Barque[a] was gone from thence. At this time Sir Clo. Shovell, admirall of the white, lay at Spithead, and had received orders to take 3 ships then clean at Spithead under his comand and go in quest of a French squadron the admiralty had intelligence of. This order he resented very much [especially since he found that Admirall Churchill used his endeavours to displease not only him, but severall others, in order to remouve them for his private views, and designs of advancing in their posts. Upon talking of this affair with Capt. Byng, he writ to acquaint the admiralty he thought that order was perticularly meant to treat him with indignity; that the comand they had appointed for him was very improper for his flag, and, as it was dishonering it, he desired leave to go on shoar, and that the orders he had received might be given to the eldest captain of those ships, for whom they were much more proper than for himself. When they found him so angry, and not knowing how much he might expose them, they got the Queen to writ him a letter to give him assurances no slight was intended to be put on him; that then there was no ships in condition to be put under his comand; but that the ships in the several ports shoud be ordered to join him as soon as possible.] So that the Queen writ to him to make some excuses on it and gave him assurances no slight was intended to him or indignity to his flag: yet when he sailed he had with him only 2 ships besides his own and a fireship. He had left orders to Capt. Byng to follow him with his ships as soon as he

1702, June 29.

July 21.

[a] [This seems to be meant for Jean Bart, who had found a good deal of employment for the squadrons watching Dunkirk in the previous war. He died 27 April, 1702, N.S.]

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July 26. coud possibly get them ready. When he was so, he proceeded to
„ 27. sea and with 3 other ships the next day joined Sir Clo. Shovell in Torbay. Upon his arrival here he was ordered out upon a cruise
„ 28. for 10 days of the Stone head[a]; so he went to sea the next day and
August 5. cruised upon the French coast, of the Isle of Bass and Ushent; and tho' they had chased several ships without success, yet he came up with an English ship which the French had made prise of; which he retook from them, and the Dragon took a privateer of 12 guns and a small Bristol ship the French had taken and were carrying
„ 7. into Brest. These prises Capt. Byng caried into Plymouth. where he found Sir Clo. Shovell with six men of war. He was again imediately ordered to sea with the Dragon and Russell, to cruise near Cape Clear, upon information that 2 French men of war and
„ 8. 2 privateers lay of there. He therefore proceeded to sea with those ships; but in hard gales of St. Paul de Lyon on the French coast, the Russell received such damage in her masts that, being disabled
„ 12. from keeping company, she was ordered back to Plymouth to refitt again; but himself continuing to cruise with the Dragon, they met with very bad weather, which obliged them to bring to and lye a
[Blank in MS.] under a misen. When the weather grew moderate she kept towards Ushent cruising there for severall days, and in their chases
August 18. met with many disapointments; however the Dragon took a French vessell, as did also Capt. Byng another called the Eagle, and being come from St. Domingo, was loaded with sugar, indigo, tabaco, cotton, molosses, and lead. With these prises he stood over to the coast of England and meeting Sir Clo. Shovell with his squadron, Capt. Byng received his orders to proceed with the Dragon and prises to Plymouth. As soon as he had disposed of them and the prisoners, and had refitted, he put to sea again with the Dragon
„ 23. and Mary, and in a few days joined Sir Clods. Shovell. He then had orders to lie to the westward of the squadron with the Dragon:
„ 27. they were now 24 leagues from Ushent, and Sir Clo. Shovell, call-

[a] [?Roches de Porsal.]

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ing a council of war, laid before them the orders he had received, August 28.
by which he was directed to gain intelligence of the posture of the enemy's fleet in Brest; and if it was such as might be judged it was not likely their fleet woud not insult the English coast or Channell, then he was to place himself in such a station as shoud be thought most propper to meet the squadron of Monsieur de Chateaurenard coming from the West Indies. Upon consideration of these orders and of the intelligence had by a French privateer they had taken, which had lately come from Brest, that their 3 deck ships, which were 18, lay unriged and not designed for sea this year; and that of the 12 ships of the line, 70, 60, and 50 guns, but 3 or 4 were fitting out; and being informed from the prisoners that 3 ships of the line lay unriged at Rochfort; which advices the council giving credit to, concluded that the enemy coud have no thoughts of coming into the Channell this year, and came to a resolution that the station they were in was the most likely to have the chance of meeting with the squadron expected from the West Indies; and it being thought that the squadron of Capt. Good's which was to protect the trade was in the most propper station for that service, and that it was not practicable for him to do that and join the squadron in case of any want of the ships with him, it was determined they shoud keep in the station they were on as long as they had provisions, and stay for any ships they expected from England, sending the Mary, of Capt. Good's squadron to him. Capt. Byng being 5 leagues to windward of the squadron gave chase one morning to a sail of which coming within gun shot by September 1.
noon, he fired several times at her, but she afterwards gaining upon him, he gave over chasing her and joyned Sir Clo. Shovell again. Then standing out again with the Dragon, they both chased a merchant ship coming from the West Indies, which the Dragon „ 4.
took; they then chased 2 sail which Capt. Byng saw to the north- „ 6.
ward of the squadron, but when it grew dark they lost sight of them; they tacked and joyned Sir Clo. Shovell before morning. They had sometimes thick and foggy weather, so that Capt. Byng

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who was often employed in chasing, lost sight of Sir Clo. Shovell's squadron ; which he not finding again, after looking out for it some days, he bore away for the coast of England and the weather being thick when he first made the Start, was but a league from it, and
September 21. then bore away for Spithead, where finding Sir Clods. Shovell, he
„ 22. came to an anchor, ending the cruise, on which they had been 2 months without meeting Mr. de Chateau Renard's squadron with the Spanish galloons expected every day from the West Indies,
„ 29. which accasioned Sir Clodesly to go out again with 8 ships. When he sailed, Capt, Byng was employed in taking in water and provisions and getting up new riging, so that he was not ready to proceed with him; but had directions to follow him to the station off Cape Finisterre where he proposed to cruise for the enemy's squadron and the galleons. He was so sensible of the weakness and condition of Sir Clodsly's squadron, which, with the Nassaw, had only 3 clean ships, that he made such diligence as to get ready
„ 30. for sailing the very next day, which he did with 5 ships more. But these not being intended to reinforce Admirall Shovell's squadron, when he passed the Lizard, they went on their several
October 6. stations. In his way he took a French banker from Newfoundland
„ 7. which he held in tow; but the next, they had such blowing weather, that the cable parted, and she obliged to bear away, and at the same time his own main mast sprung very much; which
„ 9. when he had secured, he proceded on his station, and soon made the land of Cape Finisterre. Seeing 3 sail to the southward, he stood to them, one of which prouved to be a Dutch man of war belonging to the great fleet comanded by Sir Geo: Rooke, which was returning from the unsuccessfull expedition to Cadiz, and had lost company with them the day before. Soon after, seeing several more ships to the southward, he judged them to be the fleet of Sir Geo: Rooke; he stood to them to give him an account of Sir
„ 10. Clodesly's squadron and his station, which he did as soon as he had joined the fleet and been on board him; whose cruising now was to little purpose since the ships he was looking after were got safe into

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Vigo, where Sir George was going to attack them, having received intelligence of them by the greatest chance imaginable; [for upon advice brought him by Capt. Hardy (afterwards Sir Thomas) he held a council of war, where it was resolved to sail thither forthwith and attack them; tho' it is said he himself was not of that opinion]. The grand fleet was standing for Vigo when Capt. Byng joyned Sir Geo. Rooke, and it being necessary Sir Clodesly shoud be acquainted with their intentions, he ordered Capt. Byng on his station, with orders for Sir Clodesly to join him immediately. He thought it very unfortunate to be sent out of the way when they were going to attack the ennemy, [and not to be in that action which might prouve so successful in every point;] so desired of Sir George that he might proceed into Vigo with him, since they were going on service and himself in a 70 gun ship, and represented the unlikelyhood of finding Sir Clodesly, or the improbability of his squadron being in any time so as to join them before he got into Vigo; but, not prevailing with him, he sailed that same day to the westward, and when he was 20 leagues of Cape Finistere, he lay by October 11.
that night not to over shoot Sir Clodesly's squadron. The next morning he made sail and soon discovered severall ships, and at noon coming up with them found them to be part of Sir Clodesly's squadron seperated from him in bad weather, who had not in severall days seen their admiral. He then called the captains on board him to acquaint them of Sir Geo. Rooke's fleet being gone after the French ships and Spanish galloons into Vigo; and, not thinking it necessary for them to continue in the sea longer, proposed to leave 3 ships on the station with the orders to Sir Clodesley Shovell, they being sufficient for that service, and he woud take upon him to give them orders to proceed to Vigo if they approuved it. So with 5 ships and a fireship he made the best of his way thither, being then about 30 leagues from Cape Finisterre. The next „ 12.
morning early, he made the Islands of Bayonne, and at 7 in the evening he came to an anchor with the squadron in Vigo Harbour, where they perceived the fleet farther up, burning and destroying

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severall of the French and Spanish ships. When he found the service was begun and that he coud not possibly proceed with the squadron or his ship up as far as the fleet, he went in the night up the river in his boat, and going directly on board, Sir Geo. Rooke acquainted him with what he had done, who very much approved of the steps he had taken ; and being at that time ill in bed, told Capt. Byng that not being able in his condition to judge so well what orders were necessary to be given to Sir Staf. Fairbone on the other side the boom, desired him therefore to go on board and assist him in what might be most necessary and propper to be done. Capt. Byng then went on board Sir Staf. Fairbone, and was employed all that night in assisting to burn and destroy the ennemy's ships, which had layn in the harbour 18 days before the English fleet came; at the narrow entrance of which were two forts, opposite to each other, and the distance over was half a mile; and to secure their ships the better, which lay above the forts, they had made use of the yards and topmasts of their ships, with which, and with their cables, they made a very good boom across from one to the other fort, and by this means there was 5 tier or rows of masts and yards, well frapped to their cables with cross rafters, and moored with anchors. Two of their largest ships was laid close in to the forts next their boom, and their other ships ranged on each side the passage up, yet not so well as they might have done in Capt. Byng's opinion as mentioned in his journal; for had they brought their ships and moored them head and stern close to one another along side their boom, they might have lined it entirely across the harbour, and have had their forts on each side to flank the confederate ships, and with these well defended, might have given them more diversion. Sir Geo. Rooke seeing their disposition, held a council of war the night he arrived, at which it was thought the whole fleet together coud not attack them without hazard of being entangled; so it was agreed to send 15 English and 10 Dutch ships, with all the fireships and the bomb vessells to follow in the rear, and after them the great ships; while the Duke of Ormond

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with a detachment of near 5,000 foot was to land and attack the fort on the south side, and an English ship of 90 guns to run up anchor, and lye to batter one fort, while another of the same force was to do the like by the other fort on the north side. The disposition of the ships being thus made, Vice-Admirall Hopson[a] with 5 English ships lead the van, next to him was Vice Admirall Vandergoose with 3 Dutch, then Rear-Admirall Fairbone with 3 English, next, the Admirall himself with 3 English, then Admirall Calemberg and Rear-Admirall Wassenear with 4 Dutch, Rear-Admirall Graydon with 4 English; and to bring up the rear was Vice-Admirall Peterson with 3 Dutch men of war, each flag having fireships with them.

The next morning, as soon as it was day, the Duke of Ormond with his detachment landed between the town and south fort, and marched up towards it. About 9 the fleet weighed, but it falling calm soon after they anchored again, and about there being a fresh gale, they weighed. Vice Admirall Hopson leading the van and crowding all the sail he coud, ran against the boom with such force that the weight of his ships made it give way; the Duke of Ormond at the same time with the forces on shoar attacked the fort with much galantry, and soon became master of it. Capt. Buckenham in a 90[b] gun ship, placing himself at the same time near the north fort, dismounted their guns, beat them from their batteries, and took possession of that fort. The ship[c] in which was Vice-Admirall Hopson was set on fire by one of the ennemie's fireships; but through good fortune and the deligence of the officers and men, together with the accident of that vessel having a large quantity of snuf in her and blowing up, the blast extinguished the

October 12.

Q. what hour?

[a] [Sir Thomas Hopsonn, knighted for this service on 29 Nov. 1702; a pension of £500 a year was settled on him, with a reversion of £300 to his wife if she survived him. He died 12 Oct. 1717. There is a fine portrait of him in the Painted Hall at Greenwich.]

[b] [Capt. William Bokenham in the Association; the same ship in which Sir Cl. Shovell was lost five years afterwards.]

[c] [Torbay, of 80 guns.]

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greatest part of the flames, she escaped the damage designed her. Monsieur de Chateau Renard the French Admirall, with six ships more, set fire and burnt some of these ships, as did the Spanish Admirall and six more of the galleons, besides some merchant ships of both nations. In this action the English took 9 French men of war, 4 of which in the hurry of the action were run on shoar; and after taking their canon and what was valuable, they set them on fire before they left the place. Six of the galleons fell into their hands; one of them, after they had possession of her, was grounded on the ouse, and, having taken out her lading, burnt her. Another was lost likewise by stricking on a sunken rock coming out of the south channell. The Dutch took 1 French man of war and 5 galleons, 4 of which they unladed and burnt, the other being a large ship they caried to Holland. Capt. Byng being employed in the action, had his share with the other captains of the fleet, tho' his own ship coud not come up to be of service in this engagement with

October 13. the enemy. The next morning Sir Geo. Rooke sent him to the ships he had brought with him, to order two of them to lye under the islands of Bayonne, to be ready there for any of the enemie's

„ 14. ships that might come in. The next day, being returned, Sir George sent him to the army at Rondella, to settle with the Duke of Ormond the time and place where the army shoud embark again; which having

„ 15. done he returned to Sir George Rooke, and then, going down to the squadron that came with him, brought them farther up in the harbour to assist in fitting the ships that were taken, and put on board part of the forces that were to embark. It was not till this evening that Sir Clo. Shovell, with the remaining part of his squadron,

„ 16, 17. came to an anchor under the island of Bayonne. In two days the army embarked again, in the assisting of which Capt. Byng was very diligent. This affair being thus compleated, Sir George Rooke

„ 19. and Admirall Hopson, with the 3 deck ships and transports, sailed for England, leaving Sir Clodesly Shovell at Vigo with 30 sail and 6 fireships, with order for the French ships of war and galleons to be rigged and supplied for their going to England, and was directed

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to destroy those he had no hopes of bringing home, and prevent any embusements whatever. By this blow to the French and Spanish nations, the ill success of the expedition to Cadiz was forgot, as well as the disgrace in perticular to Sir George Rooke, from whose ill management on this occasion he deserved to suffer in a very exemplary manner; and only this accidental action, owing to the greatest chance imaginable, coud have prevented a strick enquiry into the mismanagement he had been guilty of, and the calling all those to account who had the conduct of an expedition of that consequence to the nation.[a] Upon the intelligence of two French men of war expected in with a great number of cannoneers designed for the defense of the place, and of severall French ships richly loaded expected from Martinico, Sir Clodesly ordered Capt. Byng to take October 21. with him the Hampten Court and Revenge, and cruise for six days in such a station as he shoud judge was most for the service on which he sailed, but the Revenge not being ready, he left orders for her to follow him. They discovered in the morning, being about „ 23. 10 leagues from Cape Finisterre, a sail to windward and 2 more to the southward; Capt. Byng tacked and gave them chase, and in the afternoon the single ship bore down upon the 2 sail they were in chase of, who proved 2 French men of war; and soon after the headmost of them, a 70 gun ship, engaged the single ship, which appeared now to be the Dragon; but the French seeing that two English ships was likely to relieve her, the sternmost tacked and stood away to the southward, and the other that engaged the Dragon made all the sail she coud to the northward; and so ended the fight which had lasted 3 hours and in which was killed the captain,[b] a leftenant, and 15 men.

In this cruise Capt. Byng made one prise; for two days after

[a] [Cf. Burnet's *History of his Own Time*. Byng was not at Cadiz, and his evidence respecting it does not rest on his own judgment; but Rooke was a Tory, Byng had thrown in his lot with the Whigs, and the question of mismanagement was very much a matter of party.]

[b] [Robert Hollyman.]

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October 26. seeing a sail under the land, in the dawn of the morning, he gave chace to her; which standing close in along the shoar going in to Vigo between the main and the island of Bayonne, he came up with and took her. She proved a considerable prize, and was come from Morlaise and going into Lisbon. At the same time he saw Sir Clodes. Shovell about 5 leagues distant, who had come out of Vigo that morning with the fleet, and was returning
„ 27. to England, being seventy sail of ships. Capt. Byng joined him that night; but it blowing hard and continuing so the next morning, he coud only see him with 11 ships; the two rear-admiralls with the rest of the ships, being seperated from him.
„ 28. The next day Capt. Byng seeing 30 sail to the southward of him, made the signall and stood away for them; upon which Sir Clodsley (who had stood several courses to find his scatered ships) bore away and was joined before night by the rear-admirall
„ 29. of the blew with as many ships as made the fleet to be 50 sail; and the day after the rear-admirall of the white with some other ships joined him. Capt. Byng received at this time advice that the French prise from Morlaise foundered the day after he had
„ 30. taken her. It continuing to blow very hard, he sprung his
„ 31. foremast which he fished and finished the next morning, when he lost sight of the fleet; and the wind not abating in the
November 1. evening he split his mainsail; so that night he lay by under
„ 2. the misen, till he brought another mainsail to. The next morning the weather prouved more moderate: as he stood to the northward
„ 5. they made seven ships, and, making what sail he coud, came up with them by break of day. It was Admirall Graydon with part
„ 6. of the fleet; and an hour after, making Sir Clod. Shovell's fleet, came up with it at noon. Upon Capt. Byngs making the signal of seeing a sail, he was ordered by Sir Clodesly to give it chace: it was the Mariana of Nantz, from Martinico, loded with sugar, coco, coton, &c.; and, coming up with it, he took her about noon. He took her in tow; but the cable parting in the night by bad
„ 7. weather, he lost sight of her. So, steering away for the fleet, he

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joined it again the next morning. They were in the Soundings, November 8.
when in very bad weather Capt. Byng had his foresail split, as
also his mainsail. While another was bringing to, and not long „ 9, 10.
after, they discovered the land, being the Bolt, and severall of the
fleet; and with fair weather made all the sail he coud up the „ 11.
Channell; and when he was of the Culver cliffs he saw Sir
Clodesly, with part of the fleet, turning into Spithead, where he
came himself to an anchor the next day. „ 12.

In a few days after came in Sir Staf. Fairbone in the Essex, who „ 17.
had lost all her masts in the last bad weather, with six sail of ships.
Capt. Byng had orders soon after to go into Portsmouth harbour „ 18.
with the Nassau to clean and refitt her; he therefore ran her into
the moorings there above the dock, and having leave to go to town
left his ship to go thither. By the promotion of flag officers in the
beginning of the next year, Capt. Byng was made Rear Admirall of 1703.
the red; and Sir Clodesly Shovell being at this time ordered to go March 1.
with a squadron into the Mediteranean, he was appointed to be one
of the flags to go with him. He therefore went down to Chatham
and Blackstakes to forward the fitting and compleating the ships in
the river Medway, and embarking on board them Lord Shannon's
regiment of Marines. When he arrived at Chatham he hoisted his
flag on board the Triumph, and after giving the necessary orders
for fitting out the ships with all the dispatch possible, he returned
to London. In a few days he received orders from Sir Cloesly „ 25.
Shovell to repair to the Nore and sail with the ships of his squadron April 1.
to Spithead; so he repaired thither, hoisting his flag on board the
Ranelaegh. He was soon followed by Sir Geo. Rooke, who being
to command a squadron to the westward, came down to the Nore
and sailed for Spithead with all the ships then ready of his own and „ 9.
Sir Clod's squadron; and, standing over from the Gunfleet to the
North Foreland, he was acquainted by the yatchs that were coming „ 11.
from Holland that Monsieur Duponti with seven French men of
war had met the Salisbury and Adventure with their convoy com-
ing from Holland of of Orfordness, and not only taken several

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merchant ships, but were in persuit of the men of war. On which Sir George imediately detached Admirall Byng with 5 ships to
April 12. cruise of of Dunkirk to intercept them in their way home: he accordingly stood over the next day to the coast of Flanders, and the next morning seeing 7 sail he gave them chace, as they stood in for Dunkirk plying within the banks, with fair weather and French colours abroad. Admirall Byng stood so near in as plainly to view the hulks of the ships that lay in the road and those in the bason; going in between the Small Bank and the Rattle till the tender a-head of him had but 5 fatham water, found he coud effect nothing against the ennemys ships; and so standing off again he came to an anchor at 5 leagues distance, while the French ships strecked along within the sands and anchored in the western channell of the
„ 15. Flemish Road. He then weighed and stood westward with the squadron, and coming into the Downs, found there Sir Geo. Rooke with a great fleet of outward bound merchantmen. The fleet with them sailing the next day, being in number above 200, were but
„ 16. two days in their passage to Spithead. At this time the Corporation of Portsmouth presented Admirall Byng with his freedom of burgess of that town.

May 5. Sir Geo. Rooke, who had directions to go into the Bay of Biscay, to annoy the enemy there, sailed with that part of the fleet designed for him, tho' he had been indisposed, and had desired leave to go ashoar; which not coming in time, he was sailed before Admirall Churchill came to Portsmouth to relieve him; who followed the fleet to the westward as far as Plymouth, and not finding him re-
„ 14. turned to Portsmouth, where Sir Clo. Shovell was now come to comand the squadron designed for the Mediterranean, hoisting his flag on board the Triumph. The intentions of sending a fleet at this time into that sea may appear by the instructions given to Sir Clodesly Shovell by her Majesty, dated the 4 May 1703;[a] who when he arrived there, was to lie off the coast of Languedoc by

[a] [Burchett, book V. chap. xiv. p. 646.]

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Cette, and furnish the Cevenois with arms and mony as he saw convenient. Then to proceed to Sicily and assist the people there if they were well disposed, and help them to seise Palermo and Messina. To enquire if it was seasonable to destroy the salt works at Peccais, and join some marines with such French people as woud cooperate in the attempt in freeing themselves from their subjection to France and the then Spanish Government and reducing the island to the dominion of the House of Austria. Then he was to proceed to the coast of Naples, and upon signals made to him, to assist those people in like manner; and if he shoud find any part of the Emperor's army there, he was to assist the officers comanding those forces in reducing Naples, or any part of that kingdom as shoud be thought advisable; and was to correspond with Prince Eugene and comply with what he might desire of him in all things that was proper, regard being had to the safety of the fleet.

To treat likewise a Peace with the cities of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli; and endeavour to prevail with them to break with the French; and to effect this, to make them presents. He was to send ships and make use of all oppertunities to take and destroy all French ships going into or coming out of Leghorn, the Grand Duke of Tuscany having not strickly kept the newtrality, nor done justice to the Queen's subjects or allies; and the officer he shoud send on this occasion was to require imediate punishment of the governor of Leghorn, by remouving him, and to require from the Grand Duke a positive declaration and assurance that none of the English seamen shoud be detained for the future; and if upon these demands entire satisfaction was not made, he was to exact it by all practicable ways. He was likewise instructed to destroy any French ships in the Venetian ports, and to require from that State a release of any of the Queen's subjects detained in them; and take the subjects of that republic out of their ships in case of refusal of such demand; and require further satisfaction and reparation for the ships and loading they sufered to be burnt by the French at Malamocco, and if they refused it, to make reprisals

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on them. By other orders dated the 7 of May he was to take care in safety the merchant ships bound to Lisbon, Genoa, and Leghorn, and allot perticular convoys to Smyrna, Constantinople, and Scanderoon; as also to take all oppertunities of attacking Cales, Toulon, or any place on the coast of France or Spain; as also their ships and galleys or magazines, if they did not intercept the principal service he was going upon. In case he had intelligence that the French had any considerable magazines near Genoa, he was to use his endeavours to destroy them. He had liberty to apply any prise, provisions, or stores to the use of the seamen, with the privity of the prise officers in the fleet; but to keep an exact account thereof. He was also to consider what services coud be done in annoying the ennemy in his return home; but to have regard to ships detached for convoys, or on perticular services, and to bring with him all the trade that coud be gotten together. If he had intelligence that any French ships were in the Adriatic Sea molesting the Emperor's convoys for Italy, he was empowered to send such ships as a council of war should judge expedient, for burning or destroying the enemy in any place or port within that gulf, except the roads and ports of the Grand Senior. He was to communicate to the Dutch admirall his instructions, and to desire that the like might be done to him, as what might very much conduce to the carrying on the service. On the 16 of June he was ordered to set sail with the first oppertunity of wind and weather in order to put his instructions in execution; but it seems (however practicable they might be) the performance of them required a much longer time than he had to remain abroad with the fleet. On the 29 of June he was ordered that if the French fleet being inferiour shoud endeavour to pass the Streights he was to prevent it, that they might not go towards Portugall or the British Seas; following them if they did and to leave a detachment of ships for the Italian services. It was
July 1. 6 weeks after he first came to Portsmouth before he sailed, having with him Sir Staf. Fairbone, Admiral Byng, and three

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Dutch flags, the principall of them being Admirall Allemonde. His line of battle consisted of 28 English from 50 to 96 guns, 12 Dutch from 52 to 94, in all making 40 ships of the line, besides bombs and fireships; and being of the Coast of Portugal, was joined by Vice-Admiral Lake with several great ships. The merchant ships under his convoy were 160; and he ordered Admirall Byng to keep in the rear of the fleet with his division, to keep the trade together and as near as they coud be to secure them the better from the ennemy. Then standing out of the Channell he sent some ships ahead to Plymouth, to bring out the trade from thence; but it blowing very hard when the fleet was of the Deadman, Sir Clodesly stood away for Torbay with as much sail as the merchant ships coud carry, and there came to an anchor. But as soon as the July 5.
weather became fair, he sailed, and of the Lisard when they were „ 10.
joined with the ships from Plymouth, they were 215 sail, which standing away to sea, crossed the Bay of Biscay with very fresh gales; and in a week came of the coast of Portugal, when Sir Clodesly sent several men of war to see the trade safe in Port St. Ubes, and several other places on the coast, himself coming to an „ 24.
anchor at Cascales; by whose appearance he dispelled the apprehensions the Portuguese were under of being insulted by a French squadron reported to be designed against them.

When the fleet was anchored, he saluted the castle, being first assured that his salutes would be returned, and sent Sir Staf. Fairbone to Lisbon with a complement to the King of Portugal [and Queen Dowager of England, who was received with great marks of respect. Several of the nobility went on board the fleet, and the king was said to be there likewise incognito.] In a council of war held the day after their arrival, it was resolved that as soon as the fleet was watered, to proceed in the Meditterreneau, appointing Altea Bay on the coast of Spain the place of rendezvous. This being compleated in a week, the fleet sailed from Cascales, and on „ 31.
the 27th Sir Clodesly, having been joined by 6 men of war, it

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consisted now of 35 English and 12 Dutch men of war of the line, viz:

Strength of English.			Strength of Dutch.		
No.					
4	. .	96	1	. .	94
7	. .	80	2	. .	90
17	. .	70	3	. .	72
3	. .	60	5	. .	64
4	. .	50	1	. .	52

5 frigots, 4 fireships, and 4 bomb vessels and a pink, English; and 2 frigots, 3 fireships, and 3 Dutch bomb vessels. Being under sail, Sir Clodesly sent Capt. Noris[a] with 6 ships to look into Cales Bay, and several others ahead, and on the skirts of the fleet; and were
July 4. joined by those from Cales of Cape Spartell, having seen only one French merchant ship and 12 gallies lying above the Puntalls; yet they brought off 5 barca-longos with about 50 Spaniards. The fleet met with contrary winds and bad weather, with which they plied of Lerach on the Affrican coast; but when it came favourable
August 8. they stood for the Streights mouth, and in the evening, being of Cape Spartel, it fell calm; and in the night they drove in, and with the current Admiral Lake and some other ships drove very near the shoar to the eastward of the Cape, and were obliged to anchor; but the boats of the fleet were sent and towed them of. The
„ 9. fleet was got no further than of off Tangiers Bay, when a fresh levant springing up obliged Sir Clodesly to anchor. The Alcayd sent him a complement the next day offering what refreshments the place afforded; sending at the same time a message to acquaint him that there was due from the Queen of England to the Emperor his master, 86 barrells of powder, some locks, &c. for the redemption of some English captives sent home the last year; desiring to receive now that quantity of powder. Sir Cloudesly finding there

[a] [Norris, afterwards Sir John; died, admiral of the fleet, 1749.]

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was a truce between the two nations, and that the Emperor had sent letters to the Queen desiring a firm peace to be made between them, did by the opinion of the English flags, order the powder to be sent him; and all the officers who went a shoar while they staid here were very civilly used. Sir Clodesly Shovell with the fleet August 12. soon sailed from hence, leaving Admirall Byng to see the boats dispatched from the shoar, and merchant ships out of the bay. So that when he sailed from Tangier the fleet was almost out of sight; but from the levant winds they made but little way, and beginning to want water when of of the Cape de Gat, Admirall Byng stood over to the Barbary coast with a squadron, persuant to Sir Clodesly's orders to look into the bay between Cape Treforcas and Cape de Hone[a] to find some convenient places for the fleet to water in; and according to the information of the Moorish Capt. Peira (whose ship had been run on shoar and burnt near Arzile by the English who were unacquainted with the truce made between them and the Moors) when he came into the bay he brought to within „ 19. 3 miles of the shoar of Tabarin[b] ordering a ship in with the Moorish captain, who Sir Clodesly had sent on this occasion to treat with the Alcayd comanding this part of the country under the Emperor of Maraco, for their watering in such places as Admirall Byng shoud judge convenient for the fleet. But having landed him, they found upon his return (which was by escape), that the people were in rebellion and had cut of the Alcayd's head some days before, and that there was no persuading or governing them. So that Admirall Byng, who was in his boat rowing in with the shoar, seeing what had happened in relation to the Moorish captain upon his escaping to the boat with the flag of truce, and being acquainted with the rage of the people who imagined the fleet they saw at a distance was come to attack their country, thought it not advisable to seek any further correspondance with a people under no government nor with any chief

[a] [7 miles west of Cape Noe.]

[b] [The neighbourhood of Cape Milonia.]

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August 20. to treat with; he therefore sailed out of the bay the next morning and joined Sir Clo. Shovell the same day; and when Admirall Byng had acquainted him with the disposition of the people there, and of the reception their own countryman had met with ashoar, he had no thoughts of watering the fleet there. This Captain who so narrowly escaped the rage and fury of his countrymen was afterwards Admirall of Sallee, and sent embassador to England in 1724. The fleet then standing over to the coast of Spain, continuing in want of water, and being off of Cape Paul,

„ 29. Sir Clodesly held a council of war of flag officers, and layd before them the instructions directing him to assist the Cevenois, a protestant people, who rising in the south of France resisted the French troops, and by their firm and brave behaviour embarrased that king very much. Several of the principal refugees had been sent from England to acquaint them with the assistance designed for them of arms, amunition, and mony, and of the signals to be made by the English ships. Upon considering of this part of Sir Clodsly's instructions, it was resolved in the council of war that it was neither safe or practicable for a fleet or squadron to go into the Bay of Narbonne in regard of the shoalness of the coast in that bay, and the danger of navigating a fleet in it, and the time advanced which was appointed for the return of the fleet; yet they determined to send thither two ships with arms and amunition to attempt placing them in the hands of the Cevenois, to comply with the instructions as much as possible. They then resolved that the fleet should proceed to Altea to take in water, in consideration they were to return home some time in September; but in case it blew hard southwesterly, to go to Caglieri to water there. Lord Archibald Hamilton being sent with the Eagle and another ship into Altea Bay, which at their first coming to an anchor were fired at by a small castle there, which they soon left of doing from the fire returned by the

„ 31. ships; and as the fleet stood in for the bay, Sir Clodesly Shovell made the necessary dispositions with Brigadier Seymour, who commanded the marines, for watering the fleet with security, those that

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were well and fit for service, being near 1400 men. When the signal was made for anchoring, another was made for the marines to land in their boats and repair to their respective posts apointed them, a frigat anchoring ahead as near the shoar by the watering place as she coud; the Brigadier being on board, she wore a distinguished pendant. They soon landed in good order, tho' some time before, Sir Clodesly Shovell had sent a flag of truce to the Governor of Altea to acquaint him of their coming there to water, and without design of doing injury to the people in that place; that if they gave him no disturbance in his watering they woud use no hostilities, but pay for what refreshments they had; but if opposed, shoud use military force as he shoud find occasion. The Governor returned him for answer that he was not able to make any opposition, or else shoud treat them as enemies. So the marines being landed and taking the proper posts to cover the boats of the fleet, they watered without any disturbance, Lord Archibald Hamilton being also sent out with some ships to lye as scouts to the fleet. While they lay there the English and Dutch Admirals caused a manifest to be published and dispersed among the Spaniards, who seeing no injury was offered them, brought of refreshments and provisions to the fleet; which being watered in 2 days, the marines September 3. embarked without any hindrance from the Spaniards, amongst whom many persons of distinction came from the shoar and out of the country on board; [and many of them seemed inclined to shake off the French yoke under which they thought their country woud suffer.] The fleet having weighed and under sail, Sir Clodesly Shovell steered for the coast of Tuscany, and coming of Formentera, not receiving intelligence of any French ships, he sent forward the trade to Smirna, Constantinople, and Scan- „ 9. deroon; and then at the desire of the Dutch Admirall he held a council of war, at which Admirall Alemonde laid the orders and „ 11. instructions he had received from the States Generall, which directed him to act in conjunction with the English fleet upon all services against the ennemy, but to return with the ships under his comand to their severall ports in Holland, by the 20 November, they being

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victualed for no longer time; which orders having likewise communicated to the Queen and the Prince's council, he coud not in complyance with them stay in the Meditterranean longer than the 20 of September; and considering the season of the year, and as that time was now drawing near, was desirous to know of Sir Clodesly the orders he might have, and his thoughts of returning home: who acquainted him that his were positive to proceed to Leghorn; and laid before him the hasards the fleet might be liable to, in case they parted before they had some intelligence of the ennemy, and might prove of ill consequence to the English, shoud their fleet be at sea and superiour to them. But the Dutch not having provisions longer than for the last of November, their Admirall was under a necessity of obeying the State's orders, and not keep their ships in the Mediterranean any further time than that he had allready mentioned, since the season of the year woud then require them to harbour their great ships in Holland. However Admirall Alemond, to do all that was possible for him, said he would keep with Sir Clodesly Shovell till the 15 of September if the winds continued easterly; and if before that time they came westerly, they woud continue with him untill the 20th, and then woud desire (if there was no prospect of returning homewards by that time), to take his leave and proceed thither with his own ships. To which proposition the English Admirall did neither advise or diswade, leaving the prosecution of his orders to his own judgement. But when both fleets were proceeding to the eastward, Sir Clodesly Shovell sent a letter to Admirall Alemonde representing the ill consequences of their seperation; who in return by a Rear-Admirall did acquaint him of the instructions allready mentioned from the States, and of the time appointed for their being in Holland, and of his inclinations to continue with him if there was any probability of effecting his purpose in a reasonable
September 17. time. Upon this a consultation was held by the English flags, and Sir Clodesly communicated to them his instructions directing him to proceed to Leghorn, where it was indeed necessary for them to go to refresh their men and victuall the ships with wine

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and oyl, then much wanted in the fleet. In this consultation they came to a resolution that if the fleet did not reach Leghorn by the last of September, that a propper convoy shoud be appointed to see the merchant ships into that place, and to return with the fleet to England, according to Sir Clodesly instructions; which tho' it meet with blowing weather, in 2 days after got to that port. The next day a great difference arose between the governor of the town and Admirall Shovell in relation to the salute, in which the honor of the flag was concerned, and was the work of severall days to adjust and settle. For upon the arrivall of the fleet, 5 guns were fired from the town, which Sir Clodsly not taking for any salute to him, returned no answer; and when the governor sent an officer to acquaint him of the salute made him, he refused to see him or receive those guns or any salute inferiour to what his flag and his station required. Several messages passed between them, and many couriers were dispatched to Florence on this occasion. Then the governor of the town promising the cittadell shoud fire 11 guns if the admirall woud return the same number, it was accordingly complied with on both sides; this first salute being to the Queen's flag, they saluting afterwards the admirall's person with 23;[a] and then the Dutch admirall saluted the town, who was answered by the same number. Here the 2 men of war sent into the gulph of Narbonne to assist the Cevenois joined the fleet; they had been of off Paquais and other places; but the signals which they made not being returned, concluded they were not in a condition to come down and receive the assistance brought them; so seeing no probability of being of any service to them, they came to their rendezvous, where they found Sir Clodesly with the fleet, after an unsuccessfull

September 19.
„ 20.
„ 22.

[a] [The town seems to have interpreted this salute differently; for in November, 1706, when Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Dilkes demanded a salute of 17 guns, the answer returned by the Grand Duke's Secretary of State was: "That the castle of Leghorn never saluted any flag under the degree of a vice-admiral, and therefore Sir Thomas Dilkes, being a rear-admiral only, had no right to expect it. As to the number of guns that Sir Cloudesley Shovell was content with, was 11, and returned the same number."—Charnock's *Biog. Nav.* ii. 251.]

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attempt to succour those people.[a] At a council of war of flag
September 23. officers held the next day, it was resolved that in regard of Sir Clodesly's instructions from the Prince of Denmark, which directed him not to remain in the Streights longer than this month, and of Admirall Allemonde's instructions to be in Holland the 20 November, that the fleet shoud sail in 3 or 4 days at furthest, in order to return home; and use all diligence to get out of the Streights, apointing a rendezvous in case they shoud be prevented therein by westerly winds, or of any seperation when passed them.

„ 27. While the fleet was here, Scaley,[b] Admirall Byng's captain, died; who being buried in the sea, his ship, the Ranelaugh, had her jack and ensign struck; Admirall Byng going himself with his flag, next the boat his corps was in; all the captains of his division following; and near the Melora his body was thrown into the sea, while the Ranelaugh fired twenty guns as a solemnity due to those of his rank.

„ 28. Before the fleet sailed from Leghorne, Sir Clodesly received a message from Count Lamberg, the Imperial embassador at the court of Rome, that he was come there with intention to make him a visit; which Sir Clodesley woud have prevented by going ashoar, but meeting the embassador on the water coming of to him, he returned on board his own ship, the Triumph, with the embassador; and in a conference there the embassador acquainted him that the Emperor had declared Charles, Duke of Austria, his younger brother, King of Spain. Upon this news, Sir Clodesly Shovell sent Admirall Byng to Admirall Alemonde to acquaint him therewith, and of their intentions to fire guns on this occasion; that if he were inclined to do the like they might fire together. But he answered he had great respect for Admirall Shovell; yet having received no notice from the Emperor's embassador, he coud

[a] [Pembroke, of 60 guns, Capt. Robert Arris, and Tartar, of 32 guns, Capt. John Cooper. In his memoir of Arris, Charnock gives a very detailed account of the whole unfortunate business.—*Biog. Nav.* iii. 120.]

[b] [William Scaley; commanded the Gloucester at Vigo in the previous year.]

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not publickly know he was come; and till that was, he coud take no notice of him nor of the Archduke's being declared King of Spain. Upon the return of this message, the English fleet fired, to rejoice at this declaration in favour of King Charles. The embassador sent a message of excuse to the Dutch admirall, which not seeming to give satisfaction, he went himself to the side of his ship; for being sea sick and corpulent, he coud not go up the sides of it. But making his complements to Admirall Alemonde, he was saluted by him at his departure; and then the Dutch fired on the same occasion of rejoicing as the English had done. The wind being now fair, the fleet sailed from hence in order to October 2. proceed homewards. It was very necessary at this time that the Peace with the Algerines shoud be renewed; which he,[a] not thinking convenient to do himself, he gave Admirall Byng the necessary powers to settle and renew the treaties of peace and commerce with that kingdom. He had likewise orders to keep to the southwards of the fleet with the 5 ships appointed for his squadron; and being come as low as the island of Minorca, he was to seperate from it and make the best of his way to Algiers, and then, using his utmost care to dispatch the affaires to be negociated, to follow and endeavour to join him in his way home; calling at Tangiers and Lagos to see if any orders were left in any of those places for him, and in case of none to proceed directly for England.

The wind that favoured the fleet at their first sayling failing afterwards, they had difficulty in getting to the westward of Corsica, „ 10. which island when they had passed, Admirall Byng left the fleet, standing to the southward with fair weather. But when he came „ 13. within 8 leagues of the island of Minorca, he met with such violent, sudden, and severe gusts of wind that it split all the sails of his own ship, and allmost those of his squadron, and broke his main yard short in the slings. He had no sooner repaired the damages he received and standing a southern course, but he discovered the land „ 15.

[a] [Sc. Shovell..]

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of Barbary off of Cape Bogia, where for a week together he met with nothing but calms and currents setting to the eastward, so that he was all that time on the coast before he reached Algiers; where,
October 23. when he came to an anchor, he was saluted by the town with 21 guns, which he answered with the same number. Then Admirall Byng sent an officer, accompanied with the consul of the place, with a letter to the Dey, acquainting that illustrious Lord of his having received a comision and was sent by Sir Clo. Shovell to confirm and rcnew the peace that was between the renowned kingdom of Algiers and his mistrcss the Queen of Great Britain, and to treat with his excellency in that kindly and good correspondence which he hoped woud always be maintained inviolable; and that the honour of being employed on so good a work, as well as the opertunity it gave him of waiting on him, was what he very much esteemed, to which
„ 27. he had in return a very civil answer. The next day, at the Dey's request, he went on shoar in order to begin the treaty with him: at his landing on the mold he was saluted again, and was attended by the admirall of Algiers, by order of the Dey, and conducted to the King's house, and treated there with the Dey about renewing the peace and other additional articles. The treaties of peace and commerce to be renewed by Admirall Byng were all those that had been agreed on between any of the subjects of the Queen's predecessors and citty and kingdom of Algiers, but perticularly those concluded by Admirall Herbert in April 1682, confirmed afterwards by Sir William Soams, ambassador to the Grand Senior, in April 1686, as also such other articles and agreements as had been since made with that Government, perticularly those additional articles made by Capt. Munden and Consul Cole in August 1700; and to make such aditions, omissions, or alterations, as shoud be found most expedient for the Queen's service, as well as the preservation and continuance of peace between the Queen and that kingdom. The peace agreed on in August 1700 had been renewed since the Queen's accession, but in general terms only, and without mention of any treaty in perticular, therefore Admirall Byng was to be more

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perticular; and as the 2d additional article concluded by Capt. Munden varied from what was formerly agreed on concerning passes, Admirall Byng was to endeavour to obtain that instead of confiscating the goods and restoring the master, men, and ships, in case they had no passes, as stipulated by that article, it shoud be declared and expressly agreed " that in cases of none, the ship shall be confiscated, and the master may be detained; but all the other seamen and passengers shoud be free, and all the goods shoud be restored without any embezzlement." He was likewise to obtain an article that all the prises taken by any of the Queen's subjects, and all ships built and fitted out in any of the Queen's plantations in America, that have not been in England (in both which cases no passes coud possibly be had), any such prises or ships without passes shoud not be molested. He was also instructed to incert in the treaty the 2d aditionall article concluded by Admirall Aylmer with Tunis the 16 May 1699, for preventing the Queen's subjects from being seduced to turn Turks; by which article when ever it shoud happen that any subject of the Crown of Great Britain pretended to turn Turk in any place within the dominions of Tunis, he shoud be imediately sent to the house of the English consull, and there remain 3 days, in which time if he did not recant, but continued in the same mind, the consul was to acquiesce and have no more to say to him. It was likewise mentioned in Admirall Byng's instructions, to endeavour to prevail with the Governor of Algiers to declare war against France; and upon such declaration of war, and hostilities actually comitted against France, he was to assure the Governor of a present from the Queen of necessaries and furniture for their shipping, such as they shoud desire, to the value of 8 or 10 thousand dollars. It was provided in the instructions to Admirall Byng that if he coud not prevail in agreeing to the alterations proposed in relation to the passes, he was to confirm the treaties as they then stood, and make the presents which the Queen had ordered for that purpose. At this conference, the heads of a treaty were agreed on, all former treaties being to be confirmed, and

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an article allowed by the Dey in relation to what shoud be paid for the custom of English goods, and one concerning prises and ships without passes not having been in England. But Admirall Byng coud not bring the Dey to allow the alteration he was instructed to require of detaining the ships instead of their cargos; observing to him the unsteadiness of the English in desiring one year the reverse of what had been settled in another; and as to the article obtained by Mr. Aylmer in the treaty with Tunis in favour of Englishmen who had once declared themselves Turks, the Dey woud by no means hear of it; telling Admirall Byng that shoud he consent to such an article in the treaty now to be made, which was so contrary to their law, the soldiers woud cut off his head;[a] adding that the Dey of Tunis was a madman, who might have made such a promise to Mr. Aylmer, but that it was impossible for him to keep his word; and further objected that the consull might use threats or menaces to those who might have declared themselves, for to oblidge them to alter their opinion; who having said what is usual in those cases there was no recanting of opinion. Yet as Admirall Byng thought the present manner of admiting Turks was very unreasonable, he afterwards sent Capt. Wager[b] and Baker[c] to the Dey, accompanied by the consull, to insist that when it shoud happen any of the Queen's subjects shoud pretend to turn Turk in any place within the dominion of Algiers, the English consull shoud be sent for, and have liberty to talk with the person before he was admitted a Turk; who if he finds to be sober and not willing to recant, but continue in the same mind, then the consull shoud acquiesce. They were directed to acquaint the Dey that no government in

[a] [Cf. Lane-Poole's *Life of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe*, ii. 91.]

[b] [Wager, afterwards Sir Charles, at this time Captain of the Hampton Court. In 1708 commodore in the West Indies, captured or destroyed the Spanish treasure fleet, to the value, it was said, of fifty millions of dollars. First lord of the Admiralty, 1733—1742; Treasurer of the Navy at his death in 1743. Monument in Westminster Abbey.]

[c] [Baker, John; Captain of the Monmouth, died Vice-admiral and Commander in chief in the Mediterranean in 1716. Monument in Westminster Abbey.]

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friendship with another shoud take advantage of any person in the disorder of their minds by drink, perticularly that Government which professes to live in a fair and friendly correspondance with the English; and were to use all other arguments to induce the Dey to agree to such an article in the treaty. But he continued in his refusal to it; so being determined not to make these concessions, Admirall Byng came to an agreement on what coud be obtained. When what was concluded on was put in writing, he sent it to the English consull to be translated, and shew'd the Dey. In which the consull, not being made a party, expressed his dissatisfaction at it, by acquainting him he found he did him not the honour of making him a sharer in this negociation, which he thought was his due; and, believing there coud be no reason against it, he had put in his own name, which he promised he woud be contented with; otherwise the Dey woud look upon him as a cypher, which woud be no credit to his post or person. However, it seems Admirall Byng did not admit him to be a party in the treaty; but sent Capt. October 28.
Wager and Baker to the Dey, to be present at his signing and sealing it; after which the consull carried it of for Admirall Byng „ 29.
to sign the counterpart, which is as follows:—

"In the first place it is agreed and concluded that from this day "and for ever afterwards that the Peace made by Arthur Herbert, "Esq. then Admirall of her Majestie's fleet in the Mediterenean in "the year 1682[a] and since confirmed by Sir William Soams, Bart., "Ambassador to the Grand Seignior in the year 1686, with the "aditional articles agreed to with Capt. Munden and Consull Cole "in the year 1700, be renewed and confirmed, with the further "adition of the articles agreed to in this treaty with George Byng, "Esq., Rear Admirall of the red squadron of her Majestie's fleet, be "kept inviolable between the most serene Queen of Great Britain, "France and Ireland, Defender of the Christian faith, &c., and "the most illustrious Lord Mustapha, Dey, the Bashaw, Aga, and

[a] [10 April, 1682. Cf. Hertslet's *Treaties*, i. 58; Playfair's *Scourge of Christendom*, Chap. IX.]

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"Governor of the famous City and Kingdom of Algiers, and "between all the dominions and subjects of either side; and that "the ships, and other vessells, and the subjects and people of both "sides shall not henceforth do to each other any harm, offence or "injury, either in word or deed; but shall treat one another with "all possible respect and friendship, and that all demands and "pretences whatsoever to this day between both parties shall cease "and be void.

"That whereas by the said articles of peace made and concluded "by Admirall Herbert, it was agreed the subjects of England "shoud pay ten per cent. custom for the goods they shoud sell at "Algiers or Dominions thereof, Now for the better settling and "maintaining a good commerce between the subjects of England "and those of Algiers, It is agreed and declared that from hence-"forward the subjects of England shall pay but 5 per cent. custom "for the goods they shall sell at Algiers; and that counterband "goods, as is declared before, shall pay no custom: and it is "further agreed and declared, that all prises taken by any of her "Majesties of Great Britain's subjects, and all ships and vessels "built and fitted out in any of her Majestie's plantations in "America that have not been in England, shall not be molested in "case of no pass; but that a certificate in writing under the hand "of the comanding officer that shall so take prises, and a certificate "under the hands of the Governor or chief of any of her Majestie's "plantations in America or where any ship shall be built or fitted, "that shall be a sufficient pass to either of them; and our faith "shall be our faith and our word our word. Confirmed and "sealed in the presence of Almighty God, the 28th day of October "in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ 1703, and in the year "of the Hegira 1115, and the first day of the Moon Regep."

As to the proposition of breaking with France, the Dey answered that 2 of his ships was going to the Levant with presents to the Grand Segnior; at the return of which he promised to write to the Queen perticularly on that affair. It dont appear if the Queen's

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presents designed for the Dey and other friends in the Government were delivered before or after the signing of the treaty. But soon after Admirall Byng's arrival, the consull, by a letter, pressed him to send them ashoar; which consisted of the following perticulars:

A large handsome cabinet japaned, in a case. . An easy chair in a case.
A case containing a large table clock. . . . Another containing three small ones.
Two gold watches. . . . . Two silver ones.
A box with doubled barrelled pistolls. . . . A case with 4 eight square gun barrels.
A case with six perspective glasses. . . . . A bail of cloth.

While the negotiation of the treaty was carying on, a good understanding apeared to be between the Algerines and English; and the Dey soon after the arrival of the squadron, had sent of a present of as much fresh meat and bread as he thought woud serve them 3 days; and when a small French ship came into the moles, which the Dey assuring Admirall Byng was loaded with goods belonging to Turks, at his request he did not offer to violate the port. But after the Peace was signed Admirall Byng had occasion to complain to the Dey of the infringement of the 10th article of a treaty confirmed relating to the buying of provisions at the market price without paying any custom, which was denied to himself when he had sent for some for his own ship; he[a] not only excused it but expressed his concern [for it], ordering the wheat imediately on board. Admirall Byng having now concluded the treaty of peace, October 30.
sailed the day after he had signed it, standing over to the coast of Spain; and when of of Cap de Gat he met with a Dutch privateer November 6
that informed him of Sir Clodesly's having passed the Streights, and of seeing him 10 days before in Lagos Bay; upon which he stood to the westward in order to return to England. In his way, seeing two small ships at an anchor under the land by Almeria, on 11.
the coast of Spain, he stood towards them; but at the sight of him they imediately weighed and towed in close under the walls of that

[a] [Sc. the Dey.]

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town. He followed them and stood within a league of that place, but judging it improper to anchor in a bay where they coud not get out again but with fair wind, and not a proper season of the year to lye there, besides the other hazards the ships might be in by following them further, he thought it advisable to ply out of the bay again, which he did, continuing his voyage homeward. Since he left Algiers he met with nothing but westerly winds and calms, and it was 4 days before he reached as high as Estepona: then a strong levant sprung up, which caried them through the Streights and to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, which prevented his sending ashoar at Tangiers and at Lagos; and proceeding forward
November 20. in the ocean, it blew very hard for severall days; but as they came into the Soundings, it abated a little, yet the weather was thick and
„ 26. dirty. Admirall Byng, ordering one of the ships ahead, made the land at 10 in the morning; and, the weather being likely to be very bad, he stood close in to make it plain himself, which in an hour after he saw to be the Lizard bearing north, about 3 leagues from him. Then he clap'd upon a wind; and now it began to blow very hard; and having made the land very plain, he judged it more advisable to shape his course up the Channell than to lye by. So he stood with the wind at S.W. The night was very dark, and at about 12 o'clock came a most violent storm at S.W. by S. and S.S.W. such as had never before been known. The Ranelaugh, tho' scudding but with part of a foresail, it was blown entirely from the yard; and soon after the ship broached to to the southward and lay a hull; they not being able to wear her again, unless they had cut her main and mizen masts by the board, as Capt. Baker had allready done; but while there remained the least probability of saving the ship, he was unwilling to loose his masts. They had now 6 foot of water in the hole, occasioned partly by a gun of the middle tier which breaking out of the carriage went out of the port to leeward, and the porthole itself with great difficulty was secured. They were without hopes of being saved when an accident hapened that must unavoidably have

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lost the ship, but from an extraordinary undertaking of one of the ship's company: for the chain pump being broke, he boldly went down to the botom to repair it, and had the good fortune to put it in order again, without any damage to himself: for which piece of service he was on his coming home rewarded with a gunner's warrant. They continued pumping and bayling to save themselves till all the men were jaded, while the water continued to gain rather than decrease on them. Admirall Byng himself, quite spent in the fatigue he had undergone, went into his cabbin, gave over the thoughts of saving their lives, expecting every minute the ship to be lost, when his lieutenant, Mr. Davenport, came to acquaint him that not a man was able to work longer; but that if he had any brandy to give them, it might spirit them for some little time. He ordered them what he had, desiring Mr. Davenport himself dole it out to every man; by the means of which the men acquired fresh spirits and continued to pump and bail so as to prevent the water getting further on them. The weather, which November 27.
was at its hight about 2 in the morning, abated by break of day; at which time they began to gain on the ship and soon after it slackened of its fury; but the tiller being broke in the head of the rudder, they lay till allmost noon before they got in another. They then wore and stood in for the land, seeing no ship but the Torbay, to which they coud give no assistance by reason of the hard gale and runing of a very great sea. At noon they made the Isle of Wight and stood in for St. Helens Road, it continuing to blow very hard; and that afternoon came to an anchor there, after having been in very great distress, and had sprung the bowsprit, the tiller was broke, the rudder loose and defective, the main yard broke in the slings, and most of his sails split and, tho' furled, blown from the yards. The other ships of his squadron suffered likewise extreamly, some coming in without their masts, and one narrowly escaped foundering. Being at an anchor they had a melancholy scene before them of many wrecks of ships sunk or drove on shoar on the Dean and Horse sands. To one ship which

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was drove near the Dean sand with all her masts gone, he sent two of his boats, the other two being washed away in the storm; but so great a sea run that one of them sunk, yet the men in her by the other boat were saved. And many ships, being drove away, ran aground and were lost; and along the coast were seen many wrecks
November 28. and dead bodies.[a] The morning after Admirall Byng's arrivall, the weather growing more moderate, he ordered all the boats of the severall ships to give what assistance they coud to the ships in
„ 29. distress and driven on the shoar, and then he sailed from St. Helen's to Spithead, where Admirall Dilks[b] was, with 14 men of war, chiefly designed for the expedition to Lisbon. Admirall Byng, not being very well, had upon his arrivall writ to the Secretary of the Admiralty to mouve the Prince for leave to go ashoar and be in London for some little time, if the service woud permit it. But he, not thinking it proper at that time, it was recommended to him to use his endeavours in assisting and preserving such ships both of the Queen's and of the merchants, as stood in need of help. A
December 8. comission was afterwards sent him from the Prince to be comander in chief of the ships at Spithead and at Portsmouth for 10 days,[c] with power to hold court martialls. He accordingly held one,
„ 10. wherein 2 seamen were condemned to die for desertion; but, considering the great loss that lately hapened to the Queen in her saylors, and believing these might be an object for compassion at this time, he wrote to pray for their pardon, which was granted them. Having been employed about three weeks in hastening the ships designed to go with the King of Spain, he received the Prince of Denmark's leave to go to town, being directed to leave orders with the eldest officer upon the place to keep the ships in a constant readiness for service, perticularly those intended for Portugal, which he directed Admirall Dilke to observe while he continued at

[a] [This was the celebrated Great Storm "Such as of late o'er pale Britannia passed."]

[b] [Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Dilkes, died at Leghorn Dec. 1706. See *ante*, p. 107.]

[c] [This was then the usual form.]

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Spithead, and then to leave them with the next comanding officer. So stricking his flag he went ashoar to go to London. This expe- December 21.
dition thus ended with little advantage to the nation; tho' whoever considers the variety of affaires mentioned in the instructions of Sir Clodesly Shovell, might expect many important services to be performed, besides the prospect of taking Toulon, which had been represented as a thing of no great difficulty. But indeed it was so late before the fleet sailed from England, and the summer so far gone before they came so high as Altea Bay, that it was too late to assist the Cevenois and revolted French on the coast of France: the same for going to Sicily or Naples; and the like to execute anything in the Venetian ports: and when Sir Clodesly, at the desire of the Dutch admirall, shew'd him his orders, it was with difficulty that he coud be persuaded they were the only ones he had, as being surprised he had no others. For this great fleet, composed of above 60 sail of men of war, only watered on the coast of Portugal, and then on the coast of Spain, went to the coast of Italy to revictual, so returned home again; and the only service performed that was contained in his instructions being that of Algier, which was compleated by a few ships Sir Clodesly had sent thither.

The fleets in the next year were more active, and Admirall 1704.
Byng being present in what was by them chiefly transacted, it is necessary to take a more perticular notice of those sent to Lisbon and in the Mediterenean. In the beginning of the war, endeavours had been used to persuade the King of Portugal to break his later engagements with France, and to bring him into the Grand Alliance; which tho' it met with some obstructions, yet they being afterwards removed, a treaty was signed at Lisbon in May 1703, between the Emperor, the Queen of Great Britain, the King of Portugal, and the States Generall; and one of the motives of the King of Portugal's entring into this alliance, was that the Archduke Charles of Austria shoud be declared King of Spain, and come in person into Portugal; so that after some delays made by the Court of Vienna, he set out from that place for Holland, to embark for

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England, and was from thence to be conducted to Lisbon; on which service the Queen had appointed Sir George Rooke, who after having repaired the damages his ships had sufered in the late great storm while he lay in Holland,[a] had brought him safe to Portsmouth, from whence he went to Windsor; and after the Queen had received him with great honour, he soon returned to Portsmouth to prosecute his voyage to Lisbon. As soon as the ships and transports with the forces on board were ready, Sir
January 6. George Rooke sailed; but they met with a storm that dispersed the fleet and drove him with the King on board into Torbay; who being ordered for Spithead till transports for 6,000 troops coud be got ready (which coud not be till the midle of February), when
February 12. Sir George Rooke sailed, and with the King arrived in 13 days at Lisbon.

The day after they had sailed, Admirall Byng (who had received the Prince's orders to repair to Portsmouth and hasten the dispatch
„ 13. of the ships fitting out there) came down and hoisted his flag on board the Ranelaugh again, then lying at the jetty head. The Prince perticularly did recommend to him the dispatch of the ships and transports designed for Lisbon, the publick being much concerned to have the troops soon in Portugal, where the time of action was coming on apace. In which service he lost no time; and while those designed for Portugal and the West Indies were getting ready,
„ 18. he went to Spithead in the Peregrine yatch, to give directions to the ships there, and prevailed with the comodore of three Dutch men of war to join the English convoy, and proceed with them to Lisbon, tho' he had no orders relating to that service; and having seen all the outward bound ships compleated and ready to sail, he
„ 22. returned into the harbour again; about which time Sir John Leake came down to Portsmouth and sailed with the outward bound convoys and transports to Lisbon. And now Admirall Byng, seeing no likelyhood of being further serviceable, and his orders either complied with or in a course of being so very soon, he desired the

[a] [Cf. Burton's *Reign of Queen Anne*, i. 104.]

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Prince's leave to go to town; upon the receipt of which he struck his flag and returned to London, leaving the necessary orders with the eldest officer of the place. The preparations of the French making it necessary for Sir George Rooke to be strengthened at Lisbon, Admirall Byng was soon ordered again by the Prince to return to Portsmouth, to hasten the fitting out the ships there and at Spithead; and for that purpose received a comision to comand in chief for 30 days. So much haste was required, that in a letter from the Admiralty he was acquainted he woud hardly receive any orders without a clause to provide for the despatch of the ships which were to join Sir George Rooke, and that it woud be wellcome news to hear any of them were ready to proceed. Admirall Byng had not been down a week when he sent them up word that the ships then fitting and designed for Portugall were ready; and by the beginning of Aprill he dispatched them all away, sending a ship before to Plymouth to get ready the trade outward bound against they appeared there. This convoy was no sooner sent to Portugall, but a second came in from the river; and they, with the Lisbon ships fitted out at Portsmouth, and the East and West India convoys, were ready and at St. Hellens, where they remained windbound for some time. But, as they were going to sail, Admirall Byng received by an express the Prince's orders of the 19 March for detaining the Lisbon ships, yet advised the East and West India convoy to proceed on their voyage. This was upon the advices received at Court that the French were fitting out a considerable naval force in West France, under the comand of the Count de Toulouse,[a] which woud be very soon ready to put to sea; and upon this a squadron was appointed for Sir Clodesly Shovell to comand, in order to intercept them. He was therefore ordered out of town as soon as possible, and the ships in the river Medway were to go

February 25.

March 17.

April 3.

[a] [Louis Alexandre de Bourbon, Comte de Toulouse, legitimated son of Louis XIV. and Mme. de Montespan, born 1678; Admiral of France, 1683; in 1702 commanded a squadron on the coast of Sicily; Commander in Chief in the fleet of 1704, with the Comte d'Estrées as chief of the staff (see *ante*, p. 45); died 1737.]

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round to him at Spithead, with all imaginable dispatch; and while this squadron was fitting out, severall cruisers were sent to the westward in such stations where they might most probabily get intelligence of the proceedings and preparations of the French. In the meantime the council were preparing instructions for Sir Clodesly Shovell, by which he was directed that if he had advice that the French were seen at sea and were coming into the Channell with a greater strength than his own, he was to retire amongst the sands, even as far as the Gunfleet, that he might be the more readily joined by the ships from the river, Holland, and other parts; and in his retreat to bring with him the victuallers, storeships, and the trade bound to Lisbon, unless he had an opertunity to secure them in Portsmouth harbour. But unless such intelligence came as obliged him to this retreat, he was, as soon as he was ready to sail, to proceed of of Brest with his squadron, with the trade, storeships, and victuallers designed to Sir George Rooke, which he was to send on to Lisbon under convoy in case he found the French in Brest; in which case he was likewise to prevent the junction of the ships in that place with those of Rochfort and Port Louis, if a council of war thought it practicable. But if the French came out to follow him, and were too strong, he was to retire into the Channell; and joining the ships that might be there, repair amongst the sands for his security, if he found there was occasion for so doing. If the French were gone from Brest, and he coud not inform himself where, and shoud have good grounds to believe they were gone to the Streights, and that with the Toulon squadron they might be superiour to the fleet with Sir George Rooke, he was either to go with, or send the ships designed for Lisbon, with such an aditional strength of the biggest ships with him as a council of war shoud judge propper to make Sir George Rooke superiour to the enemy when the ships of West France were joined to those of Toulon; and with these, all the storeships, victuallers, and the trade to go to Lisbon. Yet no more than 22 ships were to go; and if he found it necessary that so many as 18, or the greatest part of his squadron

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shoud proceed thither, he was to go with them himself; and send the remainder into the Channell under the comand of a flag officer, with orders for him to cruise there for the security of the trade; but he was to come himself into the Channell, if such a number only went to Lisbon as might not require his comanding them thither. But he or any Admirall that shoud go were to put themselves under the comand of Sir George Rooke.[a] With these instructions, Sir Clodesly Shovell repaired to Portsmouth, and in about 12 days he sailed with the ships that were ready to St. Helens, where the Portugal convoy lay, and where, calling a council of war, he laid before it the orders from the Prince to put to sea, and the advices he had just then received by an express of the Scanderoon fleet being on this side of Lisbon, and the West India convoy put back to Plymouth upon intelligence they had of Count de Toulouse being at sea with the French fleet. Upon considering these orders and advices, it was determined by the council to put to sea the next day, leaving orders and the rendezvous for those ships that remained at Portsmouth and in the river to follow; and that the squadron shoud first proceed off Plymouth to take the men of war and the West India outward bound ships from thence; then sail to a station between the Lizard and the Forne Head[b] to join the cruisers; and if they had good intelligence that the French admirall was sailed out of Brest, and not know what course he had taken, in that case it was their opinion that the whole squadron, with the merchant ships, sail into the Soundings, in order to look for the ennemies fleet, which they judged (if not bound to the southward) had placed themselves in a station with the Channell open, either to come in with the first westerly winds, or to intercept the home and outward bound fleets. But if they find them not in the Soundings, then to proceed further, and seek for them in a station about 140 or 150 leagues W. or W.S.W. from Scilly; which might likewise be a means of

April 27.

May 8.

„ 9.

[a] [Burchett, p. 672.]

[b] [The north-west point of Bretagne. (Seller's *Coasting Pilot*).]

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protecting those homeward bound. But not finding them there, that they shoud then part with the West India ships, and that a squadron with the victuallers and storeships be sent to Lisbon, such as a council of war shoud judge propper, with regard to the instructions Sir Clodesly Shovell had received from His Royal Highness; and that a flag, with the rest of the ships, return to Plymouth. These were the measures they judged best to take, and were not to be altered but upon his Royal Highness's orders, or other intelligences than they had already received. As soon as the councill of war was over, Admirall Byng received Sir Clodesly Shovell's orders to sail before him with some ships to Plymouth, to hasten those of his squadron that was there, and the men of war outward bound with the merchant men, against he appeared of of that port. So he sailed away imediately, and in his way gave chace to 2 little French privateers till he came within shot of them; but it proving little wind, they got from him with their oars. When
May 11. he came to Plymouth, he gave directions to the officers of the ships which lay there, as well as to all the merchantmen, to sail with
„ 12. him the next morning; and upon Sir Clodsly's appearing with the fleet before Plymouth, he ordered all the ships to stand out to him, while he went himself into Hamoze to dispatch one of the 60-gun ships there; which by the evening was compleated for sailing. Then he stood after Sir Clodesly Shovell, who was not out of sight, and came up with him in the night time. The fleet being now joined, consisted of 30 ships of the line, besides fireships, bomb vessells, and tenders; and while Sir Clodesly Shovell lay off the
„ 15. Lizard he received from the Prince of Denmark the intelligence which he had from France, of the ennemies' preparations, and that of Count Toulouse's being sailed from Brest about a fortnight since, and which agreed with the account brought by the ships that had looked into Brest Road, where only one ship was seen to ride; upon which, holding another council of war, they concluded that Count de Toulouse was at sea with the French fleet. So they resolved to leave their station imediately, and sail to their 2d. rendezvous in

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the Soundings, about 20 leagues from Scilly; and leaving a ship there 48 hours, to give notice to the ships that are wanting, or any other that might be sent, then to sail with the fleet to a station W. or W.S.W. 150 leagues from Scilly; but if they coud not get thither, resolved to part with the West India ships at that distance from Scilly, and with Sir Stafford Fairbone, and the ships with him; and that each squadron make the best of their way according to their severall orders. They then took their departure from the Lizard, and soon after 2 small prises fell into their hands; and when they had run westward 300 miles Sir Clodesly Shovell held May 28. another council of war; in which, considering the traverses the whole fleet had made in the Soundings and mouth of the Channell for near a fortnight, with southerly and south westerly winds, and no manner of appearance of any of the ennemies' fleet or squadrons, they were all of opinion that the French admirall, with the fleet fitted out from West France, was sailed to the southward; and therefore they resolved that Sir Stafford Fairbone shoud make the best of his way homeward, and that the West India ships proceed according to their orders; and that Sir Clodesly Shovell with the rest of the fleet, victuallers, &c., make the best of his way to Lisbon. Upon this he called in all the cruisers; Sir Stafford Fairbone was sent away with 8 men of war and the 4 prises they had made, and the West India merchant men stood on to the westward, while himself with Admirall Byng and the remainder of the fleet (consisting now of 20 men of war of the line, besides victuallers, storeships, and severall merchant ships) stood away for Lisbon; and coming off June 3 the Great Burlings on the coast of Portugal, he sent two ships to Cascales to enquire if Sir George Rooke's fleet was at Lisbon, and for what orders might be left for him. Upon intelligence he received that Sir George Rooke was sailed from thence, and that the Count of Toulouse had sailed some days since by the Rock of Lisbon to the southward, it was resolved in a council of war which „ 4. he held upon this occasion to proceed imediately into the river of Lisbon and there use all diligence to compleat their water and other

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provisions, to enable them to put to sea again on any service the publick might require, being now only in a [Blank in MS.] condition, in case any intelligence was had of Sir George Rooke to join him on this side the Streights mouth; and according to this resolution they sailed into the river, and came to an anchor in the Bay of Ware.[a] While they were employed in watering and fitting for the sea, they learnt that Sir George Rook was in the Mediterrenean with the English and Dutch ships under his command. There being certain intelligence that the Count of Toulouse, with the ships from Brest and West France, was sailed by to Cales (from whence he was since gone), June 10. Sir Clodesly Shovell called a council of war where these things were considered; and therein concluding that a squadron from Toulon joined to that from West France will put the ships with Sir George Rook in some hazard, It was therefore their opinion that the squadron under the comand of Sir Clodesly Shovell do sail towards the Streights mouth in order to meet and join him; but, missing him there, to proceed into the Streights as far as Cape de Gat, and not meeting with intelligence of Sir George, that then they do farther consider how to proceed in order to join him. They then appointed the rendezvous, and there being no troops to embark from Portugall on board the transports now at Lisbon, and the French fleet being within the Streights, they thought of no present use for them; so for to make the greater expedition in joyning Sir George Rooke, they left them behind; as, for the same reason, they did likewise the 2 bomb vessells with their tenders; and came to a resolution to sail in 2 days, tho' some of the provisions might not be got on board. „ 12. Accordingly Sir Clodesly sailed from Lisbon with 23 ships of the line; and when he came of Cape St. Maries upon seeing many „ 16. ships to the southward, they drew into a line of battle, standing towards them; but they prouved to be the English and Dutch fleets with Sir George Rook, which was then come out of the Mediteranean. For Sir George, after his arrival with the King of

[a] [The bay on the north side, between St. Julians and Belem.]

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Spain and the troops with him to Lisbon, had been upon a cruise between Cape St. Vincent and Cape Spartell [in persuance of his orders which were] to intercept the ennemies ships from the West Indies, to secure the Turky fleet in their passage through the Streights and countenance and protect the trade in generall; as likewise to intercept and disturb the enemy, and hinder them from sending their ships of war by small squadrons from East and West France, which might be passing from one sea to the other. In this cruise they met with 3 Spanish men of war which Admirall Dilks persued and took. Upon the return of Sir George Rook to Lisbon, he received the Queen's orders to proceed up the Streights to the relief of Nizza and Villafranca; on which occasion a council of war was held before he sailed from that place; April 25. where was Sir George Rooke, Sir J. Lake, and Admirall Dilks and the three Dutch admiralls, Calemberg, Wassaneer, and Vanderdussen; when they came to a resolution to proceed up the Streights to the relief of those places, and to go as near the coast of Catalonia as they coud to gain intelligence; and if they met with certain advice that neither of them were attacked, the fleet shoud stop at Barcelona and give all possible countenance and assistance to the King of Spain's affaires in those parts; and upon not receiving any intelligence, and going up to Nizza and Villafranca, find neither of them beseiged, it was agreed to return to Barcelona, which the Almirante of Castille had proposed in the council shoud have been their chief design, to execute what had been projected for the good of the comon cause; and if at that place Sir George Rooke shoud have advice that Nizza was beseiged he might then go to the relief of that place, and the King of Spain was desirous of knowing if the fleet coud not proceed to the coast of Naples and Sicily, to give life to his party in those kingdoms, when the services of Catalonia were ended. It was the later end of April that Sir George Rooke had sailed from Lisbon with the fleet consisting of near 40 sail, and at the pressing instances of the Prince of Hesse he proceeded with the fleet into Barcelona Road, upon the

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assurances that Prince said he had from the Deputies of Catalonia and principals of that citty, that if some few forces were landed, and shew made of bombardment, they woud declare for Charles 3d and receive him into the town. But it is thought the conspericy in his favour was discovered, which disapointed the Prince of Hesse; who after 1600 marines had been landed and the Dutch had bombared the town from the sea, advised the embarkation of them again; which was done accordingly. So this attempt not answering to expectation, Sir George Rooke sailed away towards the Isles of Heires upon the coast of Provence, and in the Gulf of Lyons met with a violent storm that dispersed his fleet; and it was but just joined when they discovered the French fleet consisting of 40 sail, making the rest of their way to Toulon, and which was the fleet that sailed from Brest in May last with Count de Toulouse and Marshall D'Estrees, consisting of 33 sail. They had intelligence in their route that the confederate fleet was sailed to the Streights to join their other ships; which pressed them the more to pass them, being sensible of the importance of joining the Toulon squadron; which they did without meeting the English and were strengthened with 6 ships in their way thither; for Sir George Rooke had chased them for two days till, coming within 30 leagues of Toulon, where it was not possible to prevent their joining the ships that lay ready there to meet them, it was unanimously agreed on to repair to Lisbon to be reinforced, being apprehensive of the French following them, who had clean ships, and when joined woud be much superior to them in strength. It was on their return to that port that Sir
June 17. Clodesly Shovell joined them off Cape St. Maries. The next day Sir George Rooke held a council of war of English and Dutch flag officers, where considering Mr. Secretary Hedges letter of the 9 May, with the Queens instructions of the same date to Sir George Rook, and his letters also of the 10 and 16 May with the intelligence inclosed therein, and Mr. Methuen's letters to Sir Clodesly Shovel of the 22 and 23 of Junę, and one to Sir George Rooke, it

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was their opinion that executing the determination of the late council of war, by him held on the 25 of last month, of following the enemy so soon as he shoud be reinforced by the ships from England, was the most effectual service the fleet coud go upon; [yet being directed by the Queen's orders to concert with the ministers of the Kings of Spain and Portugal and have their Majesties consent to what shoud be undertaken,] it was their opinion they might co-operate in the seige of Cales or the attempt of Barcelona again, in case there was a sufficent number of land forces sent with the fleet for these services; and that in the mean time, till an answer came from their Majesties of Spain and Portugal, they thought the best disposition for the fleet was to be in such a station within the Streights as might prevent the enemies fleet from coming to Cadiz, and be nearer to the relief of Nizza and Villafranca if the ennemy shoud make any attempt upon either of those places. But in case there shoud be no forces for the services above mentioned, and that the answer from their Majesties shoud come in any reasonable time, it was their opinion to proceed up the Streights in quest of the ennemy; it being apparent from their ill success at Barcelona, that any attempt of the fleet upon any town or country without troops woud be ineffectual. They came at the same time to a resolution, persuant to the King of Portugal's desire, to send a squadron of ships to the Tercera Islands, for the protection and security of his fleet expected from the Brasil. Some days after the admirall received orders from the Queen requering him not to undertake any thing on the coast without the approbation of their Majesties of Spain and Portugal, whose proposals he received on the 16 of July, that when he was advanced up the Streights, to make some attempt on the coast of Andalousia. And upon these letters from Mr. Secretary Hedges' and Mr. Methuen's letter of the 26 of June, another council of war was held by the flag officers, in which they concluded that if their Majesties do not come to any resolution for besieging of Cales, or any other attempt wherein the fleet might cooperate, they might however, make a trip into the Streights, June 21.

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water their ships, possibly allarm and keep those at Toulon from going to sea, or making any attempts upon the coast of Italy, and be back time enough for the performance of the aforesaid services. So they resolved to go into the Streights, as was determined by the last council of war, with the first opportunity; and that while the wind continued easterly, they shoud stand into the shoar, and endeavour to get water and refreshments for the men. Accordingly Sir George Rooke came to an anchor in Lagos Bay; but Admirall Byng anchored with his squadron of of Villa-Nova, in hopes of finding better watering there. That town lies up about 2 miles within the harbour, off which lies a barr, and where with an out wind there runs a great sea, and is at low water partly dry. At the town there is no watering; yet boats going with the first of the flood 8 or 9 miles up the river may find a good watering place at a cistern, near which they may lie; but shoud be careful to come down again before the water falls; otherwise there is danger of the boats grounding, the fall of the water being very quick, and the channell difficult to strangers. So that Admirall Byng did not send up the river, his squadron not being in great want of water.

June 24. He therefore weighed and joined Sir George Rook, who, when the wind sprung up fair, stood away with the fleet to the eastward, giving orders to Admirall Byng to proceed to Cadiz with a squadron of 9 ships, where he was to endeavour to surprise and take any tartans, barque-longos or other boats, to gain from them the best intelligence he coud of the ennemies' force and motions either by sea or land. He was likewise to anchor in the Bay of Bulls, to exchange some French and Spanish prisoners for any English, Portuguese and Dutch the Governor of Cales might have. In case he had none, his orders were to send ashoar all he had on board the ships with him, and then make the best of his way off Cape Spartel to join the fleet there. As Sir George Rooke steered away with

„ 25. the great fleet towards the Streights, Admirall Byng stood for Cales with his squadron and all the prisoners of war. That night

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he ordered two ships to make sail ahead of him, and lay themselves close in with the shoar, going into St. Lucar by the opening of the day, in order to cut of some boats that might be going from Cadiz to the river of St. Lucar; which they doing, took two small barque-longos with 8 men in each, but they coud give no intelligence worth notice.

The next morning Admirall Byng anchored with his squadron in the fair way of the channell going into the Bay of Cadiz; upon whose approach all the vessels that lay there weighed and ran up above the Pontals, where 30 galleons lay unrigged. As soon as he was come to an anchor he sent his boat a shoar to the town of Cadiz with a flag of truce and a letter to the Governor, to acquaint him that the General of the Queen of England's fleet had sent him thither to treat with him about the exchange of such prisoners as he might have of her Majesties subjects and of her allies, the King of Portugal and States of Holland, for such Spaniards and French as he had in his squadron. He likewise acquainted him that the general of the English fleet was informed there were several of her Majesties of Great Britain's subjects had been treated in a very ill manner, not like prisoners of war; and, as it was not our usage to treat prisoners in that manner he was comanded to let him know that if they were not treated in a better manner, it woud put them upon treating those of his and the French nation with a suitable return. If it was his inclinations to treat with him on that subject, such officers or boat he shoud send with a flag of truce shoud have all due regard shewn them, as he doubted not his officers woud have if he chose a midle way to treat. The Duke of Brancacio, who was the governor of Cadiz, upon receipt of this letter, writ to him in answer: That it was necessary he shoud first have experiment in the liberty he woud give the people and boats that had been taken belonging to Cadiz and to the coast, both before he came to anchor and afterwards, and according to his proceeding he woud behave himself; desiring him to send an account of the prisoners of both crowns in his possession, and that he was preparing the

June 26.

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same. To Admirall Byng's complaint of the usage of the prisoners of war he answered that through his long experience in war he knew very well what treatment he ought to give them, and that the malicious expressions of some people had been the cause of the suppositions in his letter. In return to this Admirall Byng sent him another letter inclosing the number of prisoners he had on board, which was near 150, amongst whom where some officers; and acquainted the Duke he was to exchange them man for man, and quality for quality; and desired his Excellency to appoint some officers as soon as possible the next day, either to come on board if he thought fit, to whom he promised all due honor and safe conduct; or if he thought it more convenient that one of his Excellencie's officers and one of his met within the Puercos[a] to adjust the exchange in two boats, either of these ways were equal to him, desiring his answer as soon as possible because his affaires called him speedily away, and desired to know that night the number and quality of the prisoners he had to exchange and what hour he appointed in the morning for adjusting this matter. As to the boat the Duke mentioned, he told him of in his letter that it was suprised by a boat of one of his ships that went a head of his squadron early in the morning before he hoisted his colours; since when he had had opportunities to seize severall, but that was not his intention; and had given orders to the contrary to all the ships under his comand; but acquainted him that because he woud not leave the least umbrage in an affair of this nature, which was allways to be treated with all tenderness and honour, he had ordered the sails and grapnel which one of his boats took to be returned, and desired his Excellency to believe that nothing shoud be wanting in him to comply with him in the most honorable manner. The Duke sent him immediately an answer to it, acknowledging that the contents corresponded to the esteem he had of his good intentions; and he acquainted him that at 9 a-clock the next

[a] [Las Puercas, rocks off the town to the north.]

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day a captain woud go from the garrison in a boat, with the prisoners of war that were there, amongst whom were but two captains; that the number of prisoners were 33; for altho' there had been many more, he according to the stile of war, always forwarded their departure to their own country; which woud have been performed to 11 of these if they had not violated the order he gave them to depart the garrison imediately; but they remained for 8 days, hidden in a house where one of them came to ask a passport. But he was oblidged to terrify them by putting them in prison, from whence one had escaped in disguise. This he said he informed the Admirall of that he might see what a false account he had of his being accessory to their ill treatment. In relation to the boat, he remained confident in Admirall Byng's word that she shoud be sett free with the people, and acknowledged himself his debtor for the good intentions he expressed in setting free the men with the sails and rigging taken on the shoar of St. Maries, and for the offers of security and safe conduct to his officers, and agreed the exchange might be fully perfected, wishing God woud preserve his life. The next day the Duke of Brancacio proposed to Admirall Byng that, considering the small number of prisoners which Don Juan de Balboa carried with him to exchange, and the great number Admirall Byng had in his ships, he woud please to ease himself of those that might be overplus after the exchange made; that if his comission woud not permit him to favour him with their liberty, he desired he woud send them upon honour to return a like number of persons, and to facilitate their good treatment and passage by land or in newtrall ships, that they might go to their own country, provided none of them had comitted any offence that might be to their detainment; and this he promised to perform on the word of a minister of his King and of a gentleman. Admirall Byng answered that he woud be glad to oblige him; but, having observed that tho' they had given liberty to all the Spaniards that have fallen into their hands, and perticularly those taken in the galleons, yet they had not met with a suitable return; being

June 27.

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informed that some of the subjects of the Queen of England and her allies brought into Spanish ports had been delivered up to the French consulls in those parts, to be disposed of as they shoud think fit; which was the occasion at this time he coud not comply with his desire. When the Duke of Brancacio received that answer, he acquainted him by another letter, that seeing by his of that day that through the information of evill intentioned people covetious of their liberty, that the prisoners that were taken belonging to the English dominions and their allies were delivered to the consulls of France, which was the cause why he coud not comply with his desire, nor give him credit as a minister of his King and as a gentleman, upon which last he assured him that there had not been so much as a thought of puttng in execution such an act within the jurisdiction of his government; but, on the contrary, the French consull with the like good will had dispatched the prisoners that had been consigned him, the benefit being reciprocal during the war; to both which a good correspondance shoud not be wanting on his part, as he expected the like from his gallantry; and that he might be entirely satisfied in what he had assured him, hoped he woud send him all the prisoners he coud, as far as his orders woud permit. He was not willing to name the quantity or number, that his generosity might appear the more splendid and great; being sorry that he had not a good number to begin with, that he might experience his good will. Notwithstanding this letter, it does not appear his request was complied with, but Admirall Byng sent Capt. Delavall[a] with as many prisoners as the Duke had sent him word he had on his side to exchange, who was met off of the Puercos by a captain with a flag of truce and the prisoners on their side. The Spanish officer was acquainted by Delavall that the admirall had sent all

[a] [George Delavall—a distant kinsman of Sir Ralph Delavall (*ante*, p. 45) was at this time in command of the 50-gun ship Tilbury. In 1718 rear-admiral of the white and commander in the 3rd post under Byng in the action of Cape Passaro: vice-admiral in 1722: killed by a fall from his horse in 1723.]

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Spaniards in complement to the governor; who replyed, tho' the favour was much esteemed, yet his orders were to desire they might be one half Spaniards, the other French; which was agreed to, and the exchange made accordingly. The Spanish prisoners also taken in the barque-longos had their liberty and their boats restored to them. This affair being thus concluded, Admirall Byng sailed in the evening; but, it proving calm most part of the night, the swell from the westward hove the ships in so near the shoar, that he was obliged as soon as it was day, to come to an anchor of of St. June 28
Sebastian's, within shot of the fortifications, and some of the squadron within shot of St. Philips Bastion of the town; from both which the Spaniards fired several shot at them, which went over and did no mischief. As soon as there was any wind he weighed again, and standing to the southward, joined Sir George Rooke the next day, 10 leagues of Cape Traflagar. The strong Levant winds „ 29.
the fleet now met with kept them out of the Streights; and after plying under their course sails near a week, one of the Dutch scouts July 5.
came into the fleet and acquainted Sir George Rooke that he saw the day before 14 great ships coming out of the Streights mouth; and had met the Monk, which was coming to give him notice of 50 sail of great ships being seen of of Malaga. Upon this intelligence Sir George Rooke imediately called a council of war, consisting of the 9 flags of the fleet, who concluded they were the ennemies fleet, therefore resolved to make the best of their way towards Cadiz, to endeavour to intercept them from getting into that port; but if they were got there allready, It was agreed to come to an anchor off of the town, and then consider wether it was advisable and practicable to force the port and insult them in the bay; and in case they were not in Cadiz it was agreed to keep to the northward and westward with an easy sail all night to keep the wind of them, and range away to the southward all day in a long line till they saw or heard of them, or till they got as far southerly as Cape Spartell. Then cruisers were sent a head to look into Cadiz Bay, to see if the French fleet was there; but they coming back with an account that there „ 6.

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was no fleet nor number of ships in Cadiz Bay, Sir George Rooke stood over for Cape Spartell and of Tangier Bay, where 4 English men of war, sent from the fleet some days before, were lying at an anchor. By whom Sir George was assured that no fleet had passed the Streights, and that the ships that were seen were merchant men; upon which he stood into the Streights, and anchored off Cape
July 7. Malaga to water; landing imediately 500 English and 300 Dutch marines to guard them in it; giving orders at the same time to all the ships to send no boat ashoar till the guard was landed, nor then, without an officer; and that nobody be suffered to land with arms besides the marines appointed for the guard, and no more men to be sent in the boats than were absolutely necessary to fill the water. The captains were likewise directed to give orders to their men not to straggle from the watering place, and give them notice that the guard had orders to shoot those that did. In the meantime, Sir George Rooke sent a letter to the Governor, to acquaint him of his intention of watering there; in which, if the fleet was not disturbed, no prejudice shoud be done the inhabitants of the country; but if any opposition was made, he woud do them what he coud, and send in vessels to bombard them. The ships' boats went a shoar accordingly to water, meeting with no opposition in their landing. The place was very good for that purpose, and a rivulett there runs down with a forcible stream through aqueducts well built, that suplied severall mills on the upper ground, and fall from one of them down the rocks into the sea. While the fleet was watering without any interuption, Sir George Rooke received an answer from the Governor that he might, with the strength he had, water if he pleased; but that he shoud not be surprised if the country did attack such of his men as shoud commit any spoil upon them; sending him at the same time a present of wine and fruit.
„ 9. When the fleet was watered, the marines drew of, and embarked without any disturbance from the country; and then Sir George Rook put to sea; and as he was plying under the Barbary coast, he received letters from Mr. Methuen, the English ambassador at

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Lisbon, of the 10 and 17 of July, with the proposals made by the Kings of Spain and Portugal for attempting Cadiz; as also letters from the Prince of Hesse. Upon which he called a council of war July 17. of the admiralls of the fleet, where, they being considered, it was concluded that to attempt Cadiz with any prospect of success, without an army to cooperate with the fleet, was impracticable. But, that the fleet might not remain unactive, the attacking of Gibraltar was proposed; which was lightly thought of by many at the council; of which number was Admirall Byng. But Sir George Rooke replyed, that place shoud not only be besieged, but that he shoud comand the attack; to which Admirall Byng replied in a manner [consistant with a soldier] on whom he bestowed a mark of his favour; tho' it it is thought Sir George meant as he spoke it in a pique. Then they came to a resolution to land the English and Dutch marines in the Bay of Gibraltar under the comand of the Prince of Hesse, to cut of any communication of that town with the main; and at the same time bombard and cannonade the place from the ships, and use their endeavours to reduce it to the King of Spain's obedience.

At this time a dispute arose between Sir George Rooke and the Dutch admirall, about an Algerine ship on board which a lieutenant of one of our ships went, who had chased her, and who was told by the captain that he had letters for the English admirall; but, notwithstanding this, Admirall Wassaneer, who gave her chase, likewise coming up with her, fired at the Algerine; who imediately stricking his colours he sent to seise her as his prise, tho' acquainted by the captain of the English man of war of his lieutenant being on board, and of his carying her to the admirall; to whom when she was brought the next morning he demanded her being cleared; „ 18. the seising any Algerine coming into their fleets, when in conjonction, being contrary to the stipulation made in Holland between the ministers of both nations relating thereto. But the Dutch admirall refusing to deliver her up, Sir George Rooke left with him a memorial about it. The fleet was now in Tetuan Bay on the „ 19.

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Barbary coast, when Sir George Rooke sent Admirall Byng orders to take with him a squadron of 11 English and 6 Dutch ships under Rear-admirall Vanderdussen, and 3 bomb ships, and proceed with them into Gibraltar Bay; and upon advice he shoud receive from the Prince of Hesse, to bring them before the town and reduce it by cannonading and bombarding. Then the marines of his squadron were put into the other ships of the fleet, that in case the winds shoud continue westerly they might all land together on the east side of Gibraltar Bay, and land the marines there between
July 20. the windmills and the river. And it was settled that every marine at his landing shoud have 18 charges of powder and ball; and two grenades with match proportionable to each grenadier: that the officer comanding each company of marines shoud have one of the largest cartridge cases filled up with muskett carterages of powder and shot; and that there shoud be a sufficient quantity of shovells and light crows, and men with hatches to cut facines, ready if there shoud be occasion. The signalls were likewise agreed upon; and in case there shoud be a cessation of firing in the night, the Prince of Hesse was to fire three fusees; and if in the day, three vollies, and extend all the colours together at one place. These dispositions being settled, Sir George Rooke made the signall for Admirall Byng to proceed with the squadron appointed for this
„ 21. service; on which he made sail out of the fleet for Gibraltar Bay.

[Mem°. The following is the line of battle among the papers of G. B., endorsed by himself and agrees with Burchett.]

English.	Monmouth	70	Rear Admirall Red.
	Suffolk	70	
	Essex	70	
	Ranelaugh	80	
	Grafton	70	
	Swiftsure	70	
	Notingham	60	
	Montague	60	

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English.	Nassau	70	Rear Admirall Red.
	Eagle	70	
	Monk	60	
	Burford	70	
	Berwick	70	
	Kingstone	70	
	Lenox	70	
	Yarmouth	70	
Dutch.	1 of	72	
	1 of	66	
	3 of	64	
	1 of	60	

The Dutch to the northward and the English to the southward.

The next morning, the wind springing up easterly, the whole fleet stood in the bay likewise, and that afternoon came there. Admirall Byng was with his squadron before the town, and Sir George Rooke, with the rest of the fleet, anchored from him in the bite of the bay towards the river. When Admirall Byng anchored, the town fired, but the shot went over them; yet the mainmast of his own ship was wounded; and having orders not to attack the town before the Prince of Hesse had sent a summons in and an answer was returned, he ordered the ships with him to warp a little further out. In about an hour after the fleet came to an anchor, the signall was made to land the marines; which was done without any more opposition than that a party of about 50 horse went out of the town, and marched down to the place where they landed, and made an effort as if they woud make some opposition; but upon the fire of the grenadiers that first landed, they retired into the town, with the loss of one trooper only. The marines then marched in good order to the mills, that are within shot of the north part of the town; and, posting themselves, the Prince of Hesse, who commanded them, sent a summons to the town to declare for July 22.
King Charles 3d. But no answer returning that night nor the

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next by break of day, Admirall Byng made a signal in the morning for the squadron to draw into a line before the town, according to the manner he had before directed; which was to anchor near to one another as conveniently they coud; and no ship was to leave the line, tho' disabled, before he was acquainted with it. Accordingly they proceeded to their station before the town by warping. It being then calm, the town kept firing on them now and then, while the governor sent his answer to the Prince of Hesse that he woud defend the town to the last as loyall soldiers for King Philip the 5th, to whom they had sworn fealty. When Sir George Rooke was acquainted with this answer, he sent five ships more to Admirall Byng, whose squadron now consisted of 22, which were disposed of in a line as near as possible they coud be from the head of the new mold, which is to the southward of the town, to the old mould and to the northward of it; the English to the southward of it, and the Dutch to the northward. He placed two of the bomb ships with the Dutch, the other without his own ship; in which form, such ships as were near kept warping all the next night, sending their boats to sound before; and those ships that were more out sailed with the land breeze, and early in the morning most of them had placed themselves pretty regularly. In the night, Sir George Rooke sent Capt. Whitaker[a] with some boats mann'd, arm'd and with fireworks, within the old mould, to burn a French privateer or merchant ship that lay there; and while he performed that service, Admirall Byng at the same time, to amuse the ennemy, ordered the bombs to play into the town, which had some effect.

July 23. The next morning, as soon it was day, seeing that some of the ships coud not get into the line as directed, he ordered them to to place themselves in the best manner they coud where they saw an intervall, which they did as well as the nature of the place permitted; there being deep water of of the new mould, but

[a] [Edward Whitaker, captain of the Dorsetshire, knighted for his services on this occasion. Died 1735. He is frequently confused with his brother Samuel, who commanded the Nottingham in this same squadron.]

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shoaler to the northward of the old mold and midle of the town, where his ship the Ranelaugh went in so near that at low water she lay in less than 3 fathom and ½, tho' she drew but one quarter more. About 5 in the morning the town began to fire at the ships; upon which Admirall Byng made the signall to begin to cannonade, and for the bomb ships to play; which they did with so furious a fire that the frightened inhabitants run out of the town up the hill. Yet Admirall Byng observing the smoak was so great that the object to fire at coud not be so true, he sent orders along the line to forbear firing all they coud, only now and then firing their lower tier, as being best for battery, and to forbear altogether firing their upper tier and small guns; and about noon he directed a general cessation, that he might see what effect their firing had. These orders he sent by Capt. Edward Whitaker who was then on board him; and who being in the Lenox (that lay nearest in with the mould), observed, as did Capt. Jumper[a] who commanded her, that severall of the cannon of castle and batteries over the new mould were dismounted, and thought the men beat from their guns, which had been silent for some time. Capt. Whitaker then returned to Admirall Byng with their observation, and opinion that with the boats manned and armed they might take possession of those fortifications. Thereupon he made imediately the signall for the boats of the line, sending Whitaker at the same time to Sir George Rooke, to desire that the remaining boats of the fleet manned and armed might be sent him. In the meantime he directed the boats that were with him to the southward of the mould head, under the comand of Capt. Hicks,[b] the senior officer; and he was to employ them in taking possession and reducing the place if it was practicable; if not, to

[a] [William Jumper, knighted for his service on this occasion. Died, resident commissioner of the navy at Plymouth, 1715.]

[b] [Gaspar Hickes, captain of the Yarmouth, died in 1714: from the similarity of name, presumably the son of Gaspar Hickes, vicar of Lanerake in Cornwall, died 1677 (Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, iii. 1107).]

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order the boats to their respective ships. Not long after, Capt. Whitaker returned from Sir George Rook with a letter to Admirall Byng, for his[a] comanding the attack and the men designed to be landed; and with him to send such other captains as he thought fit. Accordingly Capt. Byng ordered Capt. Whitaker, and with him Capts. Fairfax, Roffey, Mighells, and Acton,[b] with the men sent in the boats, to attack the new mould, castle and fortifications adjoyning; and in case he shoud become master of them, he was to endeavour to lodge himself and make good his possession of them. But before he could get to the shoar with the boats Sir George Rook had sent, Capts. Hicks and Jumpef were gone with those they had got together in persuance of Admirall Byng's former orders to them; who as they were rowing to the shoar perceived a great number of priests, women and children (that to avoid danger in the town had got out of it, and were to the southward towards the chappell of Our Lady of Europa, and who now saw the boats going to land), making all haste possible into the town again; and being by the narrow passage of the rock, Sir Clodesly Shovell, then on board Admirall Byng's ship, desired our cannon to be fired that way, to frighten them back again; which as soon as was done they all ran away to the Convent of Our Lady again. The firing of this gun was likewise taken by all the rest of the ships for a signal to begin again; so they renewed their fire upon the town, under the cover of which the sailors landed on the new mould, and marched up to attack the castle and fortifications. Lieutenant Davenport went with about 30 men to the left of the covered way, and at the breach that was made got over to the eastward of the castle, while the main number that landed went up the covered way under the bastion, and finding the gates shut and the draw bridge up, mounted on the wall and pallasadoes that joined the gate, clambering over every thing in their way with great valour and much more courage

[a] [Sc. Whitaker's.]

[b] [Robert Fairfax; Kerrill Roffey; James Mighells, nephew of Sir John Ashby; Edward Acton, slain in fight 1707.]

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than prudence. But when many were got over the paliasodes and were mounting, the castle blew up; the blast and fall of which killed and wounded, it is thought near 100 men, and Mr. Master, his[a] own leftenant and brother in law, was much hurt in the leg. It is very uncertain if this was done by a train laid to the magazines by the Spaniards, or by some accident; for there was some Spaniards in the fort who met the same fate as the English had. This, however, so much discouraged the sailors that, apprehending more mines, made the best of their way down to the boats. By this time, as some were going of and the rest going down to do so, Capt. Whitaker met them with his boats, turned them back, and marching up without oposition, he took possession of the remaining part of the castle and bastion adjoining. He then marched further on and took the redoubt half way between the new mould and the town, planting there the union-jack; then marching to view the grounds, he found no opposition, so posted his men well to defend the ground they had possession of. As soon as Admirall Byng saw they were landed and had possession of the works, he strengthened them by sending more men and desired another supply of Sir George Rooke, and ordered Captain Whitaker to secure himself in the strongest places untill he was suported with more force; and that he should send an intelligble officer to give him an account of his proceedings; and, being in want of boats, directed him to send as many as he coud spare and what others coud be got from the line, in order to supply him with men. Then Admirall Byng went on board Sir George Rooke, when it was concluded Admirall Byng should send in a sumons to the town by a drum at the south gate, from his camp of sailors; and that the Prince of Hesse be acquainted therewith and desired to summons the town in the name of the King of Spain, from his camp of marines. Upon receiving these orders he went imediately ashoar to the seamen's camp, and after sending a sumons to the governor in the manner agreed on, he went

[a] [Sc. Byng's.]

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to view the posts, and ordered the out-guards and sentinells not to suffer any person to pass to the chapell of our Lady of Europa, wherein was many of the most considerable women of the town, priests and others, to prevent any rudeness and insult they might otherwise receive. In the evening the governor sent back the drum sent by Admirall Byng with answer, That he would deliver up the town, and the next morning send hostages and capitulate on terms
July 24. that were promised him should be honourable. The next morning Admirall Byng went to the Prince of Hesse's camp to acquaint him with what had been done, the manner of their encampment, and the posts they were in to the southward of the town. While he was with the Prince, the governor of the town sent out hostages, in order to capitulate, and Admirall Byng by them was desired that the women in his possession might be kept from the rudeness of the sailors, and to release them. This seems to have been one of the greatest inducements of the citizens towards a capitulation, being very apprehensive that some injuries might be offered them. Admirall Byng assured them that none had been offered to any of them, and acquainted them with the care he had taken to protect them by the guards he had posted for their security, which was a great satisfaction he gave those gentlemen; and after talking to the Prince assured them upon his honour he woud imediately visit the women and carry them himself to the gates of the town; upon the performance of which they promised to deliver up the gate of it next to the camp of the Prince of Hesse; and then the articles of capitulation for a surender were agreed upon with the governor, and are as follows:—

1. That the garrison, both officers and souldiers, may depart with their arms and necessary baggage; and the souldiers to have what they can carry on their shouldiers. The officers and gentlemen of the town may carry their horses with them, and may have boats to carry their things if they shoud have occasion for them.

2. That they may take out of the garrison three peicees of brass canon of different natures, with 12 charges of powder and ball.

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3. That they may take provision of bred, wine, and flesh for 6 days march.

4. That none of the officers' baggage be searched, altho' it be in chests or trunks, and that the garrison depart in three days; and such of their necessaries as they cannot carry out with them may be sent for, and that they be permitted to have some carts.

5. That such inhabitants of the citty as are willing to remain have the same priviledges they enjoyed in the time of Charles 2d, and their rights and religion to remain untouched, upon condition that they shall take an oath of fidelity to Charles 3d, their legitime king and master.

6. That they shall discover all their magazines of powder and other amunition or provisions or arms that may be in the citty.

7. That all the subjects of the French king be excluded from any part of these capitulations, and all their effects to be seised, and their persons to be prisoners of warr.

Upon the signing of these articles the governor delivered up the north gate, bastions, and fortifications of that part of the town, which the Prince of Hesse with the marines took possession of. At the same time Admirall Byng delivered up the women at the south gate, passing by him unvailed. The same evening he embarked the seamen that were encamped, leaving only 200 men in the castle and 50 in the redoute for 2 or 3 days, till relieved by some marines; and he likewise ordered the ships that were before the town to return to their propper flags; and soon after the Spaniards, both garrison and inhabitants, marched all out of the town, except about 20 families.

Thus did the fleet very unexpectedly reduce the town of Gibraltar, very much owing to the gallantry of the sailors, with the loss only of 61 killed and 260 wounded; tho' the furious canonading, in which it is reckoned were fired 1400 shot, had done the town so little damage that it is said orders were sending to draw of the ships and reimbark the men, who might have met with greater oposition in their landing than they did; and it was looked on as a surprising

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negligence in the Spaniards to have no more than two Spanish regiments of 40 men each in a garrison of that importance, where there was above 100 guns mounted on the walls, all facing the sea and the two narrow passages of the land.

* This should not be writ here but in December next.

*But to conclude: before Admirall Byng gave the town quite up to the land forces, he took out of the town 10 or 12 brass guns, which he intended to have begged for himself on his arrival in England; yet when he came home, Sir George Rooke and others pressing to have them out of his possession, Sir George Byng wrote to him a letter wherein he takes notice that he was pleased to say the officers of ordinance had wrote to him complaning that his officers in the Ranelaugh refused to deliver the brass guns he had took from Gibraltar, he said it was true they had his directions not to deliver them without his orders or from the Councill to the Prince, having not had the least part of the plunder of that place. He likewise said he must own he had hopes when Lord Marlbrough came over to have asked the Queen (with his consent) for those guns, or that she woud order the value of them; but if those favours were too great for him to expect, they were on board the Ranelaugh, not hid, which he never intended; and whenever his orders went they woud (as all other his orders) be obeyed by his officers. (MEM°. *See if there is not an order of Councill about these guns, of my copying.*)

July 25. The service of Gibraltar being now over, Sir George Rook held a councill of war of flag officers, upon letters received from Mr. Secretary Hedges of the 4 July O. S., and the Embassador Mr. Methuens of the 21 and 28 of the same month N. S.; where considering the same, they agreed that before the forces coud come to the fleet it woud be too late in the season of the year to proceed so far up the Streights as to attempt Barcelona: besides the Dutch were not supplied with provisions for so remote an expedition. But if their Catholick and Portugese Majesties coud provide an army and materials for the seige of Cadiz, believed they shoud be able to co-operate with them till the 15 September N. S., but no longer,

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provided the forces in Gibraltar were relieved, for they coud not spare any men from the fleet. It was also agreed that for the security of Gibraltar they remain there with the fleet till an answer came from Portugall; and that while the winds continue westerly, squadrons be sent over to the Barbary coast to keep the ships watered, to enable them to go upon any service that might be proposed and a council of war think practicable. Sir George Rook then sent Admirall Vanderdussen with 5 sail to Lisbon and from thence to Plymouth, to bring from thence the Dutch recruits designed for Portinguall; and leaving a garrison of 1800 English seamen at Gibraltar, he sailed with the fleet into Ceuta Bay, where August 1.
part of it lay to water; but Sir Clodesly Shovell plied up with his squadron to a watering place 2 leagues more to the eastward called Reifi,[a] where a river runs into the sea. But at the watering in Ceuta Bay, which is about half a mile to the eastward of the round hill on which the white tower stands, the river runs down within 30 yards of the shoar, and between it and the sea is a high bank of gravell and sand, through which it goes into the sea. However there is a very good filling of water in this river it being so little a way to roll the casks and very good getting them of with westerly winds, but with levants extreamly troublesome, it then running a very great sea on the beach. Yet ships lying in the bay may be forewarned of those winds by the swell that generally rools in before they come; and in winter great care shoud be had to observe the first appearance of it, in order to remouve and get to sea. At the time the fleet lay watering, so great a sea did run on the beach that it was performed with difficulty, and Sir Clodesly obliged to come back to Ceuta Bay without watering in the place he proposed. As the swell abated, the whole fleet compleated their watering and then weighed from Tetuan Bay, and stood over to Gibraltar with little „ 3.
aires of easterly winds. The morning at six, one of the scouts to „ 9.
the eastward came down making the signal of seeing the ennemie's

[a] [8 or 10 miles to the east of Tetuan.]

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fleet. Admirall Byng was the first that had perceived them as he was looking out very early in the morning, and imediately went on board Sir George Rook to acquaint him of it. But they did not conclude it to be the French fleet, till some officers going up to the mast head discovered about 16 sail at such a distance they coud not raise their hulls. Upon considering what measures were to be taken, Sir James Wishart,[a] 1st captain to Sir George Rooke, was of opinion to retire with the fleet to Gibraltar; but Admirall Byng differed with him in opinion, since the consequence of retiring to Gibraltar woud be suffering the French fleet to get between them and the 12 ships on the Barbary coast that were left to follow, not having compleated their watering when Sir George Rooke sailed from thence, and the ill consequence of receiving the French fleet at so great a disadvantage as at an anchor, and therefore thought a councill of war shoud imediately be called to take the sentiments of the flags of the fleet. Then Sir George Rook drew the fleet into a line of battle, being three leagues from Gibraltar, between that place and Malaga. It was about 8 when the council of war was held, where the captain[b] that had made the signal gave an account of seeing that morning the French fleet consisting of 66 sail about 10 leagues to windward. They came then to a resolution to endeavour to get half the marines on board from Gibraltar and to lie of of the eastward of that port, while the wind was easterly, to receive the enemy; and if the wind shifted westerly, and the French declined engaging, it was agreed to follow them as far as Cape Malaga, and not further; for if the French shoud retire so far, it was probable they woud not stop till they got near Toulon; where, tho' the season of the year shoud permit, they coud not follow them for want of sufficient provisions. When the councill of war was over, orders were sent to the fireships

[a] [A curious correspondence as to Sir James Wishart's seniority is given by Charnock, *Biog. Nav.* ii. 301.]

[b] [John Herne, of the 50-gun ship Centurion. After the battle of Malaga he was promoted to the Grafton, of 70 guns, in place of Sir Andrew Leake, who had been slain. Died at Lisbon in December, 1705.]

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and other small vessells that lay at Gibraltar, to bring off the marines, for which Sir George Rooke writ to the Prince of Hesse. That night the confederate fleet keeping in a line made gentle sail towards the coast of Barbary, where he had sent for the ships left behind, and was soon joined by them. It was perceived by the report of the signal guns that the French fleet that night wrought from them, and the indraught of the bay between the hill and Estepona drew the confederate fleet in near the land.

The next morning they stood off to the southward, the wind August 10.
continuing easterly, and the fireships and small vessells brought of a 1000 marines that were distributed in the fleet. Now the French fleet with the Count of Toulouse, who had joined the Brest squadron to that of Toulon, and was come down the Streights lower than Malaga, knowing himself near the confederates, made from them and was soon out of sight; not with any intention to avoid them, but, being certain where the confederate fleet was, they returned to Velez Malaga for their galleys. The English then, not seeing the French fleet all that day (tho' they had the wind to come down to them), Sir George Rook took in the signal of the line of battle, and sailed to the south-eastward, in order to follow them with all the sail he coud make, sending out scouts to windward. In the night he stood back again to the northward; and about 5 the next ,, 11.
morning, a sail, supposed to be an hospital ship of the ennemy, was seen between them and the shoar standing in with it, and with French colours aboard. Some small frigots stood in after her while the fleet tacked again to the southward, except Admirall Byng, who with his division continued on, to prevent the chase getting to windward; who seeing no possibility of escaping, ran ashoar to the westward of Fangerole Castle,[a] the crew quitting her, and blew up after they had set her on fire; Sir George Rooke then standing after the French fleet with fresh easterly winds. In the afternoon he stood back again to the northward, and then to the

[a] [Some 20 miles to the westward of Malaga.]

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August 12. S.E. all night; in which time not hearing their guns nor seeing any of their scouts the next morning, suspected they might make a double and by the help of their galleys slip between him and the shoar to the westward; therefore standing to the northward, he called a council of war at 7 in the morning; in which they not only every way considered the motions of the French fleet, their working away, tho' they had followed them 48 hours with a press sail by the report of their guns, without being able to get sight of the ennemy, but likewise the circumstances and condition they had left Gibraltar in, at present a weak garrison, the guns and carriages not fully repaired, mounted, or in a condition for service, nor gunners to manage those that were so. It was also thought that the victuallers and the bomb-vessells lay exposed in the road, shoud the French slip by to the westward in the night and offer to insult them; which being considered, as well as the little prospect of coming up with the French if they intended, as they seemed, to avoid them, they resolved that in case they did not see the ennemy before night they shoud make the best of their way to the Streights' mouth, and there lye 48 hours in expectation of them; but in case they did not appear in that time, it was agreed to go into the Bay of Gibraltar to land some marines, gunners, and carpenters, and endeavour to put the place into such a condition as not to be apprehensive of any insult by sea or land. In the mean time the Count of Toulouse, when joined by the gallies, made sail with his fleet in quest of the English, standing towards the Streights where they first had sight of them, bnt missed them when the English stretched over to the S.E. to work after them; and which was the occasion of the French being to leward when both fleets apeared in sight of each other, which was at 11 in the morning, a little after the council rose; they being at the time of discovering the confederate fleet, to the northwest of them, near Cape Malaga, going away large.

The appearance of the French fleet was unexpected to the English, who imagined they had avoided them; but now Sir George Rooke

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thought that by their motions, they intended to place themselves between his fleet and Gibraltar; so that he soon made the signal to call in all the cruisers and to draw into a line of battle; in which manner he bore down upon the ennemy with all the sail he coud make, the wind then blowing east, in small gales; and while drawing near unto them the French were forming their line with their heads to the southward; about which time Cape Malaga bore N.N.W. by N. 8 leagues distant. All that afternoon there was little wind, and sometimes it was calm; but at night small gales sprung up easterly, with which they again bore down upon the French; and upon the opening of the next day, the French August 13. appeared in their line within 3 leagues of them, with their heads [to the southward] as before; and then braced to when they had formed it to their intention, and lay to receive the English fleet, giving them the oppertunity of coming as near them as they pleased. Their line was formed circular; the center in a very great bite or half moon, which Admirall Byng supposed was done with an intent to gain the wind of the van or rear of the confederate fleet with the help of their gallies, if it should prouve little wind. Their line consisted of 50 ships.

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Gallies	Men.	Tenders and Fireships.	Frigats.	Ships.	Comanders.	Men.	Guns.	Squadron.
Annunciation	700			Eclatant	Monsr. de Bellefontaine[a]	430	70	
Isabella	600			Œolus (*E'ole*)	(*Marquis*) De Mons (*De Monts*)	380	62	
St. Catherine	600			Oriflamme	De Chateaurenaut[b] (*Château Renault*)	380	60	
Magdelana	500	Inflamed (*Enflammé*)	Star (*E'toile*)	St. Phillipe	Chev. D'Infreville	700	92	Vice-Admll. White and Blew
Mary	500			Happy (*Heureux*)	St. Marc (*Colbert Saint-Maro*)	460	70	
Teresa	500							
St. Rosalea	500			Rubby (*Rubis*)	De Beneville (*Benneville*)	330	56	
Monica	500			Arogant (*Arrogant*)	De Serbie[c] (*Desherbiers de l'E'tanduère*)	360	60	

[a] [The correct names are given in italics from Troude, *Batailles Navales de la France*, i. 250; Poncet de la Grave, *Précis Historique de la Marine Royale de la France*, ii. 125, and Eugène Sue, *Hist. de la Marine Française*, v. 277. This last alone gives a list of frigates and fireships, which differs slightly from the MS. He does not name the New Galley, but gives two other frigates, Oisean and Andromède; and he omits four of the fireships. Charnock (*Hist. of Marine Architecture*, iii. 9) gives a list of the frigates, the same as Sue's, but adding an eighth, the Diligence. So also Lediard (*Naval History*, 792), who gives a list of eleven fireships. I have not met any nominal list of the galleys except that in the text.]

[b] [François Louis Ignace Rousselet, Marquis de Château Renault; son of the Maréchal (*ante*, p. 38); born about 1685; killed in the battle.]

[c] [Desherbiers de l'E'tanduère, captain of the Prudent at Beachy Head, presumably the father of the Chef d'Escadre of the same name, who was defeated by Hawke on 14 October, 1747; but the name does not seem to have a place in French biographies.]

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Gallies.	Men.	Tenders and Fireships.	Frigats.	Ships.	Comanders.	Men.	Guns.	Squadron.
				Marquis	De Patoulet	350	56	
				Constant	(*Comte de*) St. Maure	450	68	
		Dangerous (*Dangereux*)	Hercules (*Hercule*)	Fire (*Fier*)	(*Marquis*) De Villette, Left. Genll.[a] (— *Mursay*)	800	88	Adll. White and Blew
				Intrepide	De Casse, Chef d'Escad.[b] (*Ducasse*)	600	84	
				Excellent	La Rochelaw. (*Roche-Allart*)	350	60	
				Wise (*Sage*)	De Monbeaw (*Montbault*)	340	56	
				Rock (*E'cueil*)	Darginij (*Darigny*)	380	64	
		Turkish woman (*Turquoise*)		Magnificent (*Magnifique*)	De Bellisle (*De Belle-Isle-Erard, Chef d'Escadre*)	600	84	Rear-Admll. of White and Blew
				Monarque	De Chabert	600	88	
				The Pearle				
				Furious (*Furieux*)	(*Comte*) De Blenac	350	60	
				Vermandois	De Betune (*Comte de Béthune*)	350	60	
				Perfait (*Parfait*)	De Chateaumourant (*Marquis de Château Morand*)	400	72	

[a] [Philippe de Valois, Marquis de Villette-Mursay; born about 1642; commanded the Assuré in the battles of Stromboli, Agosta, and Palermo in 1676; lieutenant-général in 1689; vice-admiral of the white squadron at Barfleur, with his flag in the Ambitieux, which was afterwards burnt at La Hogue; died 1707.]

[b] [Jean Baptiste Ducasse, is best known by his defeat of Benbow in 1702; chef d'escadre in 1703; lieutenant-général in 1714; died 1715.]

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Gallies.	Men.	Tenders and Fireships.	Frigats.	Ships.	Comanders.	Men.	Guns.	Squadron.
		Crescent (*Croissant*)	New Gally	Thunderer (*Tonnant*)	De Collegon (*Comte de Coëtlogon*)	700	92	Vice-Adll. White
				Haughty (*Orgueilleux*)	De Pallet (*Du Palais*)	600	88 (72)	
				Mercury (*Mercure*)	De Lanion (*Lannéon*)	330	54	
				Serious (*Sérieux*)	De Chamelin (*Champmeslin*)	380	58	
Patron of France	700			Fleuron	De Grancy (*Grancey*	350	56	
Favorite	500	Roterdam		Vanquisher (*Vainqueur*)	Baily of Lorraine (*Bailli de Loraine, Chef d'Escadre*)	600	86	
Dutchess	500	Wellcome (*Bienvenu*)	Medusa (*Méduse*)	Thundering (*Foudroyant*)	Count de Toulouse (*Comte d'Estrées*) [a]	900	100	Adll. White
Princess	500	Porter		Terrible	De Relingue [b]	900	100	
Crown	500			Enterprise (*Entreprenant*)	Count d'Autosort (*d'Hautefort*)	350	58	
Faithfull	500			Fortunate (*Fortuné*)	De Bagneux	350	58	
				Henry	De Serquigny (*Cerquigny*)	400	64	

[a] [Comte d'Estrées, Maréchal de Cœuvres (see *ante*, p. 45) was nominally "premier capitaine" of the Foudroyant; a rank equivalent to our present "captain of the fleet," or the French "chef d'état-major." He is said to have been virtually the commander-in-chief.]

[b] [Ferdinand de Relingue, captain of the Mignon in Du Quesne's actions on the coast of Sicily in 1676; chef d'escadre, 1689; rear-admiral of the blue and white squadron at Barfleur, with his flag in the Foudroyant, had his leg shattered and amputated at Malaga; died on 6 September following.]

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Gallies.	Men.	Tenders and Fireships.	Frigats.	Ships	Comanders.	Men.	Guns.	Squadron.
		Flying Eagle (*Aigle Volant*)		Magnanimous (*Magnanime*)	De Ponti[a] Chef d'Escad. (*De Pointis*)	600	74	Rear-Adll. White
				Lilly (*Lys*)	De Villard (*Comte de Villars*)	600	84	
				Sendant (*Fendant*)	De La Luzerne	300	58	
				Zealande (*Zélande*)	De Serville	350	58	
				St. Louis	De Bajeux (*Beaujeu*)	380	60	
		Ætna		Admirable	De Sepeville (*Sepville, Chef d'Escadre*)	670	88	Rear-Admll. Blue
				Crown (*Couronne*)	De Champigny	560	80	
				Sea Horse (*Cheval-Marin*)	De Pontac	260	54	
				Diamond (*Diamant*)	De Rogne	350	58	
				Gay (*Gaillard*)	D'Osmond	350	56	
				Invincible	De Rouvoir (*Marquis de Rouvry*)	450	72	

[a] [Jean Bernard Desjeans, Baron de Pointis, born 1645; commanded the Courtisan at Beachy Head; in 1697, commanded a squadron in the West Indies; took and sacked Cartagena in May, and returned to Brest in August, after a passing engagement with an English squadron under Captain Harlowe; in October 1704, being sent in command of some frigates and small vessels to co-operate with the Spaniards in the siege of Gibraltar, he was driven ashore and his squadron destroyed by Sir John Leake; he died 1707. An account of his West Indian Expedition was published in 1698.]

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Gallies.	Men.	Tenders and Fireships.	Frigats.	Ships.	Comanders.	Men.	Guns.	Squadron.
		Violent	Gallatea (*Galatée*)	Royall Sun (*Soleil-Royal*)	(*Marquis*) De Langeron [a]	850	100	Adll. Blue
Royall	700			Scepter (*Sceptre*)	D'Ally (*D'Ailly*)	600	84	
Conquerass	500			Trident	De Modene	350	58	
Glory	500			Content	Monsr. de Philipeaux (*Chev. de Phelypeaux*)	350	58	
Franchiquine	500			Moor (*Maure*)	De St. Clair (*Saint-Claire*)	350	58	
Dorothy	500			Toulouse (*Toulon*)	Du Quesne (*Du Quesne Monnier*) [b]	380	64	
St. Clare	500	Lyon (*Lion*)	Sybill (*Sybille*)	Triumphant (*Triomphant*)	De Artelvire (*De la Harteloire Chef, d'Escadre*	700	88	Vice-Adll. Blue
Verongua	500			Holy Ghost (*Saint-Esprit*)	Du Quenegitons (*Du Quesne Guiton*) [c]	490	72	
———	600			Ardent	D'Aligre	409	68	

[a] [Joseph Andrault, Marquis de Langeron; born 1649; commanded the Apollon under D'Estrées in 1673, and the Sage under Du Quesne in 1676; chef d'escadre at Beachy Head and Barfleur; lieutenant-général in 1697. In 1706, with the Count of Toulouse at Barcelona; in 1707, commanded a squadron of galleys in the North Sea (see *Historical Review*, iv. 65); died 1711.]

[b] [Abraham Du Quesne-Monnier, nephew of "le grand Du Quesne;" born about 1653; commanded a frigate at Bantry Bay in May, 1689; in 1697, when in command of the Trident, he lost his right arm in action with a Dutch man of war off Gibraltar; chef d'escadre, 1715; died 1726.]

[c] [Abraham Du Quesne-Guiton, first cousin of Du Quesne-Monnier; at Bantry Bay and Barfleur; chef d'escadre, 1716; lieutenant-général *ad honores*, 1720; died, 1724. Is best known by his voyage to the East Indies, an account of which was published in 1692. Of the other captains in this list, several had served under Du Quesne in 1676; and almost all with Château-Renault in 1689, or with Tourville in 1690 or 1692. So far as the superior officers of the fleet went, they were, as a rule, men of experience and good antecedents.

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In which were 23,800 men, besides fireships and frigotts, and 22 gallies, with 11,900. Some of their small frigotts lay to leward of their line, with the same signall colours their flag ships had; which Admirall Byng judged the use of to be, that if in time of action the smoak shoud be so great that their line coud not see the signalls from the flag ships, the fleet might observe them from these frigatts lying at a distance, by repeating the signalls made; and which disposition he has thought might be of great use in large fleets where the line is much extended. As the French lay with their heads to the southward, their white and blue squadron led the van: in the center was the Count of Toulouse, High Admirall of France, with the white; and in the rear was the blue; each squadron having an admirall with vice and rear admiralls, being 9 in all, besides some cheifs of squadrons. They were strongest in the center; for which reason their gallies were cheifly posted in the van and rear; but a small detachment of them attended Count Toulouse, and lay to leward, as did the rest, ready to tow where there shoud be occasion. The confederate line consisted of 53 ships, the number of seamen in which were ; [Blank in MS.] but two fourth Rates with two frigats and two fireships Sir George Rooke ordered to lye to windward of him; that if the ennemy's van shoud endeavour to pass through the line, with their galleys and fireships, they might prevent them. (MEM°. *The English fleet with the* FLAGS *to be described here*) [a]

As the confederate fleet bore down to the French in order of battle, the white squadron led the van, comanded by Sir Clodesly Shovell. In the center was Sir George Rooke, admirall in chief of the united fleets, with the red squadron; and in the rear was the Dutch, comanded by Leftenant-admirall Calemborg. Sir Clodesly Shovell with his division went within half gun shot of the van of the French fleet and then brought too, lying by Mr. Vilette the French admirall, and so remained, neither of them firing a gun. When Sir

[a] [No description in the MS. The list, being 41 English and 12 Dutch, is given by Lediard, p. 791.]

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George Rooke came within random shott, he made the signall to bring too with the larboard tacks; yet going from the wind stood for the French Admirall. When the signall was made, Admirall Byng was not then within gun shot, and the Dutch in the rear were still much farther off; so that he took no notice of the signall till he came within shot, when he repeated it and brought too, but rather at too great a distance for battling. Yet the Dutch still kept back, tho' Admirall Byng sent severall times to desire they woud come nearer the ennemy. But this part of the French fleet was so much superiour to them in the bigness of ships and in the number of their guns, that it made both the Dutch, Admirall Byng, and Sir George Rook, not so ready to engage them; tho' at last they did by degrees very warmly. When Count de Toulouse saw that Sir George Rooke had brought too at so great a distance from him, and tho' to windward did not come up to him (which he might have done as near as he pleased), he made the signal for the van and rear of his fleet to make sail; then got both his tacks[a] at once on board, and the French fleet, setting all their sails, seemed as if they designed to streck a head and weather the English; but it was only in order to mouve up to them as nigh as the wind woud permit. Upon this motion of the French fleet, Sir George Rooke hoisted the signall to engage, thinking they intended to go off. It was now about half past 10 in the morning, when upon this signall being made some ships between him and Admirall Byng began to fire; and so the battle being begun it was continued with great fury on boath sides. About half an hour after two (four hours after they began), the van of the French fleet was so pressed by the van of the English, that it gave way in no little confusion, and towed to leward out of shot; upon which Count Toulouse sent his gallies with orders to tow them in again; and towards night their rear gave way to the Dutch. But the center of the French fleet being superior to that of the English, several ships of the divisions of Sir George Rooke, Admirall Byng, and Admirall Dilks suffered

[a] [Fore and main: the expression is unusual.]

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much, and were obliged to haul to windward out of the line for want of shot, which had not been equally distributed through the fleet after the expence of their ammunition at Gibraltar, tho' the printed account of this action says every ship was supplied with 25 rounds two days before the battle, which was judged sufficient; and woud have been so, if Sir George Rooke had got so near the enemy as he intended. Yet they wanted ammunition before night, and before they drew out of the line, were obliged to manage their firing. Sir George Rooke, who lay several hours engaged with Count Toulouse, was very severely dealt with, being in a ship of 80 guns only, and 2 70-gun ships his seconds, which had their guns of a smaller callibre than usuall, on account of their cruising. Count Toulouse was in a ship of 100 guns; one of his seconds was of equal force, and the other near the same strength. Of the English that were disabled was Sir George Rooke's second that led him, and 5 ships more that lay in the line between his other second and that of Admirall Byng's. This gave the enemy great encouragement, and occasioned the battle to fall very heavy on them, perticularly on the St. George, in which was Sir John Jennings, who fought singly some time with Count Toulouse and then with one of his seconds; and having at least 25 guns dismounted on that side he fought, brought others over from the opposite side. Towards the evening, the other second of Count Toulouse advanced out of the line and began a close engagement with him, but met with such reception that with difficulty she retired and rejoined the line, after the loss of both her captains[a] and many of her men. The ships of Admirall Byng's division suffered pretty much by the ennemy; and the more so, because the Dutch squadron kept at a great distance, not going so near as they might have done, till the afternoon; which made Admirall Byng send to desire they woud bear down, some of them being to windward of the rear of his division; and some

[a] [This must have been the Vainqueur, commanded by the Bailli de Lorraine, who was killed in the action. The French accounts do not mention the death of the captain.]

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getting on the other side, fired over at the French and struck some of his own ships, which obliged him to send often to them to forbear firing in that manner. The Dutch afterwards bearing down, some of their ships, especially that of Admirall Calemberg, had their share of the battle, which continued till half an hour after sunsett, when the rear of the French towed from them out of shot; about which time both sides left off firing, standing on with an easy sail to the southward all night, in which the French went away to leward, assisted by their gallies. The French admirall kept out his lights all night, which neither Sir George Rooke or any of the English flags did, except Admirall Byng, who took the French for those of the English admirall, and which had liked to have prouved an unlucky mistake; for intending to go on board Sir George Rook in the night, he followed the French admirall's lights, and was so nigh as to [be hailed, when finding] his mistake, he put about and quickly rowed of, being several times hailed by the French.

August 14. About 2 a clock the next morning the wind came up at N.W., which gave the French fleet the wind of the English. The weather was hazy; but as it cleared up they saw the French forming their line with their heads to the northward, which the English likewise did; and about 11 o'clock, being about 3 leagues distant from them, they lay by to receive the French in the best manner they coud, sending their disabled ships to leward, with the small frigatts to assist in refitting their defects. But the French seemed to think they had sufficiently engaged, bringing too likewise to windward of the English, and their gallies were towing some of their ships which appeared disabled. While both fleets lay in this manner, Admirall Byng seeing the French did not come down, hoisted his flag on board the Torbay, to heal the Ranelaugh, that her leakes and shot holes under water might be stop'd; which was likewise now done by several other ships; and as there seemed no appearance of engaging this day, most of the ships employed themselves in bringing new sails to their yards, and in fitting them and their masts and rigging; and care was taken to

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distribute with all diligence what shot coud be spared from those ships which had most left, as well as the hospitals and fireships, to those that most wanted them; so that by the best computation when all were supplied they made up some to 8, some to 10, and most to 12 round of shot.[a] It may without great vanity be said that the English had gained a greater victory if they had been supplied with ammunition as they ought to have been; but as it happened that so many of the English ships wanted powder, even so much that some of those of Admirall Byng's division had none left, they were beat if the French had known it; and it was then thought by some that if the French fleet had not been between them and Gibraltar they woud have made the best of their way thither. That afternoon Sir George Rooke held a council of war, where, considering the then circumstances of the fleet, its being not fit to attack that of the French with vigour, by reason of their want of ammunition; and that, notwithstanding they had lain by all the day to receive them in the best manner they coud, after making a destribution of the remaining ammunition, in expectation of their coming down to them; it was agreed on and resolved to make the best of their way to Gibraltar, there to secure as well as they coud the disabled ships, many of them being so in their masts and yards, as also for the security of that garrison. In the evening, the Ranelaugh having compleated her work on the heal, stood into her station and Admirall Byng returned on board her again. In the evening the English fleet tacked and lay by all night with

[a] [At a court-martial held at Deptford on 8 Jan., 1704-5, to enquire into the reasons of several of the ships going out of the line during the engagement, the evidence as to two of them was peculiar. Captain Clevland of the Montagu had still 10 rounds for his lower tier, but "was wrongly informed by Lieutenant Lancaster who commanded that deck, and is since dead;" had the Admiral's permission to go out of the line. Captain Acton of the Kingston could not find any shot in the hold, having then water over the ballast. The gunner, since slain, said there was none, and by permission of the flag the Kingston drew out of the line. Afterwards, when they had freed the ship of the water, they found ten rounds. They were both acquitted. *Minutes of the Court Martial*, (*Courts Martial*, vol. 13).]

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their heads to the southward; and so did the French; all which
August 15. time it prouved calm. The next morning the ennemy were 4 or 5 leagues to windward of the English; and at 7, a gale springing up easterly, the English fleet bore down in a line of battle on them as they lay between them and Gibraltar, and, there being a necessity to make their way thither through their fleet, it was resolved on and concluded to do it in the best manner they coud; and, it being thought a very hazardous undertaking, it was agreed that every ship, after she had spent her powder, shoud take his chance in getting through the ennemy's fleet, and make what shift they were able. The French, who likewise thought they had obtained no victory, had no inclination to renew the fight. For some time after the English bore down they seemed to go from the wind, forming their line to the northward with a prest sail; while the English continued bearing down in a line of battle on them till 4 in the afternoon, with an easy sail, not very desirous to come up with them; which, when there was no likelyhood of doing before night they brought too with their heads to the northward, that the lame ships might come up and place themselves in the best condition, in case they shoud engage again; and all that night lay by. In the meantime, the ennemy observing the English mouve towards them with the appearance of an intention to renew the fight, thought they were in a better condition than they knew themselves to be; so put upon a wind in the night, while the English lay by; carrying no lights, and, getting under the Spanish shoar, plied to windward, and thereby avoided the English, who, expecting at the opening of the next day to be near the ennemy,
„ 16. were surprised to have no sight of them. At 5 the next morning, the signal being made, the English fleet bore down before the wind in a line of battle, again standing for Gibraltar with fresh easterly gales in hazy weather. This afternoon the Albermale, a Dutch ship, in which was Admirall Calemberg, and out of which he had that morning remouved, blew up, by accident of some powder taking fire, and all her men were lost except 9, who were afterwards taken

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up in the water. This night the English fleet lay by, and the August 17.
next morning made sail again, and, receiving accounts from Gibraltar and from the coast of Barbary, that the French were not gone through the Streights or to the westward, concluded they were retired (as they were) to Toulon. Two days after the fleet anchored „ 19.
in a line, in the Bay of Gibraltar, and after the reciprocal salutes of the fleet and the town a salvo of the canon of the place and volcys of small arms was made for the victory obtained over the French fleet by that of the confederate, who had no great reason to value themselves on their success, otherwise than by putting on a good face they show'd themselves ready to try their fortune a 2d time, and remained on the place of battle, while the French retreated towards their own ports. The number of ships in this engagement were not very unequall; but it is certain the French had bigger ships and a superiority of 600 great guns; and had not only the advantage of clean ships, being lately come out of port, but were better provided with ammunition; of which the English had spent a great quantity in taking and by furnishing the fortress of Gibraltar. The gallies were likewise of great use to the enemy in carying of and towing their great ships, of which many were so disabled in the action as to require it.[a] The French relate they had but 1,500 men killed and wounded; among the first of which were the Baily Loraine, Monsr. de Relingue, Leftenant-Generall the Count de Chateau Renaud, &c.[b] The Count of Toulouse was himself slightly wounded, and had 4 of his pages about him killed or wounded. In the confederate fleet, 2 English captains[c] were killed, and one wounded, but the more perticular account is as follows:—

[a] [The French loss seems fairly described by Troude, i. 254: cf. Brun, *Guerres Maritimes de la France*, i. 114.]

[b] [To this list of officers killed Troude adds Belle-Isle and Phelypeaux.]

[c] [John Cowe, of the Ranelagh, Byng's flag-captain, and Sir Andrew Leake, of the Grafton.]

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	Officers.		Men.		
	Slain.	Wounded.	Slain.	Wounded.	
Admirall red, Sir George Rooke's Division	6	2	219	508	
Admirall white, Sir Clodesly Shovell's	1	7	105	303	
Vice-Ad. blue, Sir John Lake's	0	7	86	211	
Rear-Ad. red, Admirall Byng's	1	5	155	361	
Rear-Ad. white, Admirall Dilks'	0	10	119	249	
	8	31	687[a]	1632	
Total killed and wounded					2368
The Dutch	1 cap.		91	268—	360
Total of the confederate fleet					2728

August 20. The morning after the English fleet came to an anchor, Sir George Rooke held a council of English flag officers; where, considering the circumstances of the fleet and garrison of Gibraltar, it was agreed, in order to put that place in the best condition they coud for defence, that all the marines in the fleet (except those of 2 ships which were weakly manned) be sent on shoar there, and that 60 great guns with the carriages and as many gunners, and 12 carpenters be sent out of the fleet to the Prince of Hesse, according to the request he had before made. It was likewise agreed that the two bomb-vessells with their tenders shoud be left at Gibraltar; and to keep abroad all the ships of the fleet as were in a condition for the winter's service, putting them under the comand of Sjr John Leake; and those that were not so and coud go home shoud proceed directly for England; and that those which were not in a condition to go for England shoud go to Lisbon, till they coud be refitted; and it was likewise concluded that the fleet shoud sail from Gibraltar with the first oppertunity of wind. According to these resolutions, 2,000 marines were landed, and the garrison suplied with a quantity of stores and provisions and 48 canon, in addition to the 100 there before.

[a] [The arithmetic here is faulty. Burchett (p. 681) gives the number of men slain in Sir John Leake's division as 89, which brings the total slain to 687; but he makes the same mistake in the total killed and wounded. He puts the Dutch loss at 400.]

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When the damages of the fleet was repaired and the garrison of Gibraltar thus suplied, another council of war was held; where it was resolved to take the first oppertunity of a wind to go out of the Streights and make the best of their way to England with all the ships designed thither, since the winter was so soon approaching which woud render the passage very dangerous to the crazy and disabled ships; and that those intended for the winter service shoud be sent to Lisbon to be refitted. But if the wind shoud prouve contrary so as to hinder their getting out of the Streights, it was agreed to go over to the coast of Barbary to water and procure refreshments for their wounded men. The next day, the wind being fair, the fleet sailed, and, being got without the Streights' mouth, Spithead was apointed the place of rendezvous in case of seperation. In about a week they got to the westward of Cape St. Vincent, when Sir John Lake with the squadron designed for Lisbon, of 12 frigats and 1 fireship, left the fleet in order to proceed thither. He was to send 4 ships with the trade to England; to take under his comand the ships which the States Generall shoud appoint for the winter service in those parts; and to employ the whole in guarding the coast of Portingual and Spain, our trade, and the garrison of Gibraltar.

August 24.

„ 25.

September 1.

In the mean time Sir George Rooke proceeded with the fleet in fair weather and fresh gales about 500 miles to the westward of the Cape, and in three weeks got into the Soundings; and in 2 days after made the land of the Start in hard gales, and, steering up the Channell, they came the next day to an anchor at St. Helens.

„ 21.

„ 23.

„ 24.

Soon after Sir George Rooke held a council of English flags, in which a disposition of the ships that came home with him was made for the severall ports where they were to refit in the winter. At the same time the Dutch Admirall sailed with his squadron and all their homeward bound merchant ships.

„ 26.

Then Sir George Rooke left the fleet, which saluted him, and seperated according to the dispositions made. Admirall Dilks, with the ships designed for Portsmouth harbour, sailed into Spithead;

„ 27.

„ 28.

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and Sir Clodesly Shovell, with the great ships designed for Chatham, sailed from St. Helens. But Admiral Byng had orders to remain there with 5 ships, untill he coud fit and bring out those in Portsmouth harbour that were to go to the Nore, and then he was to proceed to Chatham; which being ready and the wind permited,

October 5. he sailed eastward for the Nore; but when he got within 6 leagues of Beachy, he was forced back again to Spithead by contrary winds, where they kept him severall days. But the weather being fair, tho'

„ 13. the wind continued in the same point, he tied[a] it to the Downs, and so on to the Nore in about a week. Here, receiving the Prince of Denmark's leave to go on shoar, he left the necessary orders to the

„ 20. severall ships, struck his flag and went up to London, where on the

Gazette. 22d of October, her Majesty was pleased to confer the honour of knighthood upon him, as a testimony of her approbation of his behaviour in the late action with the French in the Mediterenean; tho' very unexpectedly to him, not being privy to or acquainted with the intentions of his friends, who had put the Queen on doing it.

1704-5. December 1. Sir George Byng was not at home above 6 weeks when he was ordered out again to sea in the hight of the winter. For upon the advices received by the Prince of Denmark, of the French being in the Soundings with several ships of force under St. Paul de Gee,[b] it was thought necessary a squadron of ships shoud be sent thither to oppose their designs and destroy them if possible, as well as to secure the rich trade daily expected home from Barbadoes. So that Sir George Byng being directed on this service, he had orders from the Prince of Denmark to repair forthwith to Spithead, with a comision to comand in chief in the Soundings, and there to cruise with a squadron then appointed for that purpose. He was to pro-

[a] [tided.]

[b] [The author seems here to have jumbled two men into one; the Chevalier Saint-Pol, who was at this time at Dunkirk or in the North Sea; and Du Guay Trouin, who really was in the Channel, and fell in with some of Byng's ships. See Laughton's *Studies in Naval History*, 317.]

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ceed westward as soon as he coud get ready the four ships of his squadron that were at Portsmouth, and then take with him the two ships at Plymouth that were likewise part of it. But if these were not ready, he was to give them a rendezvous with orders to follow and join him on a station from 30 to 50 leagues westward of Scilly, and between the latitude of 48 and 50 degrees; where Sir George was to meet and take under his comand three other ships apointed to be of his squadron, and were cruising on that station for the protection of the Barbadoes trade. With this squadron, or as many ships of it as he coud get together, he was directed to cruise in such stations in the Soundings as he shoud think most propper to secure that trade now expected home, and to clear them of the ennemie's ships of war and privateers, which he was to endeavour to destroy. On this service he was directed to continue as long as his provisions lasted; and every 20 days to send in to Plymouth for orders, and to give the Prince an account of his proceedings. If during his cruise he met with any of the trade, he was to take care they were seen in safety into some port of England; but the ships he sent with them were to return to him again. In case he shoud be forced in by ill weather or for want of provisions, he was to revictuall up to three months and proceeding again to sea on this service. He was also to take 7 Turky merchant ships under his care, if they joined him, and to see them 150 leagues into the sea from the Land's End; and was to govern himself by such intelligence as he shoud gain, and with the advice of the comanders with him when there was occasion. The next day the Prince gave him additional orders, by December 2. which if he shoud gain intelligence in his cruise that any of the Barbadoes trade (part of which was come into Plymouth) was gone to Ireland, he was either to go himself, or send some ships of his squadron thither, to bring them to England; and when he went of of his cruise he was to call or send to the ports of Irland, from the Shannon to Waterford, for the trade in those ports, and convey them to England; as likewise to send one of his fourth rates to King's Road, to see the trade bound to Virginia 150 leagues into the sea

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December 4. from the Land's End. With these orders he set out for Portsmouth the day after he received them, and that night, when he came to Guilford, considering that the three ships of his squadron that were in the Soundings was come from thence, and were now at Plymouth, woud be prevented, from the hard westerly winds that then blew, from putting to sea again to look for the rest of the trade from Barbadoes, and that those winds woud bring in all those that were at sea and had not put into Ireland, he wrote to the Prince's Secretary desiring that orders might be sent for cleaning those three ships, which in his opinion might probably be done before he coud get there; and not only pressed that, but very much the having of clean ships into the sea; since none but such coud come up with the cruising squadron of the ennemy.

„ 5. The next day he came to Portsmouth, where he hoisted his flag on board the Deptford, leaving his baggage in the Ranelaugh

„ 7. against his return there; and in two days he got the 4 ships of his squadron ready and sailed with them to the westward, as also with the storeships and merchantmen bound for Plymouth, anchoring

„ 8. the day after in the Sound of that port. The three ships of his squadron from the Soundings he found here, and the 2 other ships were getting ready with all expedition; but the Chatham coud not be so in 4 days; and the Anglesea, tho' compleated, was so ill mann'd, that he ordered into her some of the marines from one of the ships he was sending into Hamoze to clean; which were the Rochester, Deptford, and Mary; which 3 ships with the Chatham he left behind, with orders to follow him on a station from 30 to 50 leagues westward off Scilly; and going himself on board the Exeter, where he hoisted his flag, sailed from Plymouth with the

„ 11. other 5 ships as soon as the wind permited, which was in 3 days after his arrivall, taking with him some merchant ships which he intended to see far in the sea; and then, when he had ranged to and fro over the station, shoud find no ships of trade nor either of the French squadrons, he purposed to go for Irland for the security of such trade as might be put in there. Before he sailed, he

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distributed to the 5 ships with him the signalls to govern themselves by in case of parting, the line of battle being as noted in page .[a] When they were in a line, each ship was ordered to keep as near the ship that lead him as conveniently coud be with regard to the weather; and if they engaged in the night time, they were to keep a light in the poop lanthorn while they continued in the line; but if they shoud happen to engage any of the ennemy's ships promiscuously, then each ship was to carry the private lights usually made for her boats, the better to know each other. Besides the signalls and line of battle, he gave to all his ships the rendezvous in case of seperation by bad weather or by any other unavoidable accident; which was to be in Bantry Bay; but if they coud not fetch that place, then to be in Cork harbour. Sir George Byng sailing from Plymouth stood westward 150 leagues with the Turky and other merchant ships; and then, thinking them to be out of the way of the privateers, parted with them, December 15. returning the next day on his station, and sent the Anglesea „ 16. into King's Road to convoy from thence the Virginia trade. Sir George in his cruise met several privateers, and in vain chased them; the ships that were with him being very foul. Being led by them to the northward of Scilly, and hearing that some of the West India trade was in Cork and Kingsale, he bore away for the latter, and came to an anchor there the same day he made the land. He imediately ordered one of his ships that was disabled into the „ 20. harbour to refit and follow him; and sent notice to the ships and vessells bound for England, of his intentions of sailing again imediately; at the same time sending an express to Cork, to acquaint those lying there that he woud call for them off of that port, and the Rupert was to assist in getting them out. The next day he „ 21. sailed with three ships, leaving the Triton behind; and, standing off Cork harbour, lay a whole day waiting the coming out of the merchant ships; but the masters of them neglecting to get out, he

[a] [Blank in the MS., and the line of battle has no place in it.]

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December 25. stayed no longer; but, taking in tow those that did, proceeded to Plymouth, anchoring soon after in the Sound. In Hamoze he found the other 4 ships of his squadron; and having got out the
„ 26. Mary, the next morning hoisted his flag on board her, and used all diligence for the other 3 likewise; since with these and the Rupert he intended to sail the next morning, ordering the Exeter and Medway to clean and follow him on the former station west of
„ 28. Scilly. In the mean time he delivered to all the ships of his squadron private signals, and composed his line of battle; and in that order were directed to keep as near the ship that lead as conveniently coud be with regard to the weather, shoud there be occasion to draw into a line. The same morning he got under sail with the 4 clean ships, the Rupert and several merchant ships bound to Irland, which he saw clear of Scilly, and directed the Rupert to see them to Kingsale; from whence she was to proceed to the Shannon, to convoy from thence to Plymouth the merchants' ships there bound for England; and after cleaning, join him on the station west of Scilly. Sir George had chased a vessell which he thought was a French privateer; but she, running into Falmouth, shew'd herself to be one of the packett boats; and which chase had brought him near the Deadman; but, carrying sail in the night, he got clear of the land, and stood to the southward; but the Mary, sailing better than any of the other ships, he lost company with
„ 30. them in the night, and, believing it woud prouve ill weather, he bore up for Torbay, where he came to an anchor with his own ship, sending an express to Plymouth, that in case the other 3 ships shoud be put in there, to direct the captains to weigh and joyn him imediately; and he was the more impatient to know for certain of there being in that place, and the fordwardness of the two ships left there, as well as any others that might be since arrived there and ordered to joyn him; for he had reason to think that Monsr.
„ 31. St. Paul, with 5 other ships, passed by Torbay two days before. But the next day he saw the three ships in the offing; so he stood out to them, intending to proceed westward if the weather had

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permitted; but it blew so hard when he got out that he was forced in there again, where he rid out the bad weather. He took occasion at this time to complain to the Admiralty of the ill manning of his ships, which, with great difficulty, were worked by the great number of marines and boys in them. The wind, which had blown for several days very hard at S.W., came at once to the N.W., which gave Sir January 3.
George the oppertunity he had been some days waiting for, of putting to sea; so that with his 4 ships he got under sail, in order to proceed on his station to wait for Captain Litleton in the Medway, who was to sail from Plymouth in 3 or 4 days. He, sailing from Torbay, ranged thwart the Channell, two thirds over from the Lisard to Ushent, and then over towards Scilly; and one „ 5.
evening, seeing two sail, he stood from them till night that they might not imagine he designed to follow them; but then he stood after them, and by broad day the next morning had sight of them, „ 6.
and continued giving them chace before the wind all day. Some time before night they brought too, being now three ships, which probably was to make[a] the ships of Sir George Byng's squadron; but at the close of the evening they bore away again, and he persued them with all the sail his ships coud make. But the night was so dark, and in which they had altered their course, that he did not see them again till the next day towards noon; at which time, there „ 7.
being little wind, Sir George furled his sails in hopes they woud not see him; and at night a gale springing up he stood the course on which he last saw them with all the sail he coud; but at the opening „ 8.
of the day he coud not discover any of them. By this time he was about 200 miles to the westward of the Ramhead, and, believing that the privateers had now left the station, and as he had advice from the Admiralty before he left Torbay of 5 privateers richly laded and bound from the West Indies to Bourdeaux and Nantz, he determined to place himself in a comodious station to intercept them, as well as the ennemies trade that might be going from west France southward, as well as their homeward bound. So he stood

[a] [To get a clear view of.]

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away for a station 40 leagues westward of Ushent, and from the latitude of 45 to 46, where he intended to cruise 3 weeks, and then to repair to one 15 leagues to the westward of Scilly, from 48 to 50; and the rendezvous to the ships with him was given accordingly.

January 10. So he stood to the southward, and in a very dark night falling in with 10 sail of English runners,[a] his ship, the Mary, fell on board one of them; by which her head was caried away, and loosened the cut water from the stem so much that upon a survey it was thought very hazardous to keep the sea, and the damage to be repaired only in a dock. On this unlucky accident he made easy sail to the northward; but having secured some defects of her, and the weather

„ 13. being very fair, he ran over the first station again; and 3 days after came up with a vessell, but afterwards missed her by the darkness of the night, yet the Chatham took a privateer of 30 guns, which

„ 15. she caried to Kingsale. Soon after, they had another chase, which the Mary and Deptford came up with; which being an Ostend privateer of 8 guns made but little opposition, and then surrendered.

„ 17. Sir George now bending his course homewards, in two days after

„ 18. made the land of Scilly. The next day in the evening a sail stood off to him, which, not answering to some private signals he made, he gave her chace; but, judging it might carry his ship to the leward of Scilly, he gave it over; and, missing of three other ships which that evening stood towards him, he made the best of his way

„ 21. to Plymouth, coming soon after to an anchor in the Sound, having left the Rochester and Deptford to the eastward of the Lizard with a Sweed in tow, whose pass was not alltogether agreable to the articles made for that purpose.

While Sir George Byng was on his cruise, some promotions were made in the navy, so that on his return to this place he received a comission to be Vice-Admirall of the blew, which flag he accordingly hoisted.

[a] [Runners: ships which sailed independently, *i.e.* without convoy; running through the enemy's cruisers or blockade, at their own risk, trusting to "a clean pair of heels."]

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His intentions were to proceed again imediately to sea; but finding the Exeter under other orders than he had left for her, he writ to the admiralty for others [for her] if she continued of his squadron, and to acquaint them of his intention to revictual and get ready the rest of his ships for the sea; and that his design was when he shoud go out again to cruise more within the Channel than the station he had left, if approved by them. But he found orders lodged for him from the Prince, to have regard to the trade of the East India Company homeward bound; and with these orders the Prince had sent a packett from the secret comitee of that Company to inform him of the latitude those ships woud come into the Soundings and the time they were expected there; which he was directed to be in, as near the time as might be, and comply with the Company's desire as far as might be consistent with the service he was employed on. Upon which Sir George wrote a letter to that comitté, to assure them of all the care in his power, and that he woud see them in safety himself. In the meantime he used all the deligence possible to get the ships of his squadron ready for the sea. The Mary he had ordered into the dock to be repaired, and the Rochester and Deptford into Hamoze to have boothose tops;[a] and in a week received his answer from the Admiralty, by which he found the Exeter was to continue of his squadron, and his proposition of altering his station approved by his R. Highness. He received orders at the same time to see the East India ships at Spithead, and which were hastening to Plymouth, one hundred or 150 leagues in their way, as he shoud judge propper for their security; and the Hampshire (one of the ships that were coming with them) he was to send off of Brest, to discover what naval preparations the enemy were making in that port; and, as severall Barbadoes ships was every day expected on the coast, he was desired by the Prince to use the best methods he coud for their security, and preventing any further misfortunes to

January 28.

[a] [To have the waterline and just below it scrubbed and tallowed.]

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those merchants, who had lately been great sufferers. Sir George was likewise acquainted with the Prince's intentions of his comanding the squadron which was to guard the Channell and Soundings this summer; and that the Ranelaugh was again appointed for him, with the men and officers formerly belonging to her; which pleased him, as being his favourite [ship, and had promised those men that they shoud go with him in whatever ship he went]. Sir George now hoisted his flag on board the Exeter, intending to sail as soon
January 29. as the East India ships appeared in the offing. At this time, Capt. Littleton in the Medway returned with the St. Philip, a privateer of St. Malo's of 32 guns; with whom Sir George consulting, and by discoursing with the prisoners, judged the French were looking out beyond his former station. Upon which, as well as from the intelligence he had received from the Admiralty, and advice from the East India Company of the expectation of their trade home the next month, he resolved to alter his station again to 70 leagues westward of Scilly; and according to this determination he gave orders for the Mary, who could not be ready in less than a week, and for the two ships in Irland, and that sent to King's Road, in case they shoud put into Plymouth, to follow and join him on a station 70 leagues westward off Scilly, in the latitude from 48 to 49; and on that to cruise till the 1st of March, and then repair to a second station, 30 leagues west of Scilly, in the same latitude; and on the latter to remain as long as their provisions lasted and received further orders to the contrary, giving protection to the trade and see them into Scilly; but if they met with the East India trade expected home they were to see them into Falmouth or Plymouth,
„ 30. and then return to their station. The next day, the East India ships from Spithead appearing, he prepared to sail and sent the Hampshire off of Brest, to gain intelligence of the ennemy and to return to give an account to his Royal Highness. This evening Sir George Byng woud have sailed; but receiving notice from Mr. Burchett that Sir Thomas Dilks, with the men of war and trade bound to Portugal, might be expected every minute to appear of Plymouth, which if

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he did he was to joyn him to strengthen the convoys outward, and proceed in company so far as might be consistent with the orders already received; so that he had thoughts of staying one night in hopes of seeing him the next morning. But at that time, seeing no January 31. ships in sight from the hills to the eastward, and being unwilling to lose the northerly winds, and fearing shoud they come to the west they might continue so for some time, which might prouve a great disappointment to the merchants, as well as to his clean cruisers, that he got under sail with 4 men of war of his squadron and 42 merchant men; which he intended to proceed with so far in the sea as they shoud be in security from the enemy, and then return to the station on which he had appointed the rest of his ships; which when they shoud join him, he intended to place himself as the winds shoud happen, or as he met with further intelligence, both to give what protection he coud to the homeward bound trade expected from the East and West Indies, and to meet with the ennemies squadron, if he received notice of their being abroad. After February he intended to draw near home and to cruise from 20 to 30 leagues westward of Scilly in the former latitude; and in a letter to Sir Clodesly Shovell before he sailed, tells him he thought privateer catching was most their business, and the more so since he had been pleased to think of him for that service: says he woud be most kind in his leisure hour to send him his thoughts and advice in the service he was employed; that he intended to go into the Mary when they met, untill his old mistress the Ranelaugh came, which he desired might be soon; and, having had occasion to mention some cruisers, desires he woud pardon him that out of the abundance of his heart he spoke what he conceived best for the service.

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APPENDIX.

[SOME EXTRACTS FROM THE JOURNAL OF THE REV. THOMAS POCOCK.]

[The writer of the journal from which the following extracts are taken was the Rev. Thomas Pocock, M.A. (Oxford), chaplain of the Ranelagh in 1704. He had previously, in 1698, served as chaplain of the Orford; he was afterwards chaplain of the Lyme; and again, in 1711, was chaplain of the Union. On 2 August, 1716, Sir George Byng being then one of the Lords of the Admiralty, he was appointed one of the chaplains of Greenwich Hospital, and nominally also chaplain of the ordinary at Deptford. This post he held till his death in or about 1738. He was also rector of Long Ditton in Surrey, and of Danbury in Essex.

He was cousin of Richard Pococke, schoolmaster at Southampton, and father of Richard Pococke, Bishop of Ossory, better known as the traveller, some of whose journals have recently been published by the Society. It has been supposed that he was a grandson of Edward Pocock, the orientalist; but this, though very probable, wants confirmation.

Some time before 1704, Thomas Pocock had married a sister of Mrs. Byng (*ante*, p. 52). His son George, born in 1706, entered the navy under Sir George Byng's patronage, on board the Superbe, with his uncle, Captain Master, in 1718; in 1758-9, he commanded the squadron in the East Indies; was made a Knight of the Bath in 1761; was naval Commander-in-Chief at the reduction of Havana in 1762, and died in 1792.

The Oxford lists spell the name Pococke; and Dr. Pococke, the

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traveller, seems to have so spelt it. On the other hand, Admiral Sir George Pocock certainly wrote it without the final *e*.

The MS. is a small duodecimo volume, and appears to have been written up some years after date, from rough notes (see p. 198). It has continued all along in the possession of the family, and at the present time belongs to Captain Charles Searle Cardale, R.N., who has kindly placed it at the disposal of the Editor.

Passages in which the sense only is given in abstract are in brackets.]

A Journal of my Voyage this Summer, 1704, from my first leaving of Ditton.

March 30. About 7 in the morning, I took horse for Portsmouth. . . . . Arriv'd at Portsmouth about 6 [next evening.] I took up my quarter at the Wagon and Lamb in High Street: very reasonable and obliging people.

April 1. Mr. Rook, formerly a lieuftenant of a ship, was stab'd this evening about 10. The murderer is not discover'd.

„ 4. I hir'd an horse at Gospar this morning, and went to Southampton to visit my Couz. Rich. Pocock, the schoolmaster. . . . .

„ 8. I waited on Admiral Byng this morning at Gospar. He carry'd me in his barge to the Commissioners; where I received a warrant sign'd by the Prince to be Chaplain to the Renelagh, a 3d rate of 80 guns, 532 men. . . . . .

„ 10. I went a board this morning, but return'd imediately to read prayers for Mr. Ward. I received a letter from my dear spouse by Mrs. Byng. . . . . .

„ 14. Being Good Friday, I came on board this morning to stay. A court marshal was held for the tryal of a pilot that run the Nassaw aground on the back of the Goodwin. He was discharged from all service, it appearing that he was superannuated, and could not

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perceive the landmarks. The Admiral sent for the master of a merchant man, that fir'd 3 guns after the evening gun was fir'd on board us.

Officers Names on board the Renelagh. 3rd rate, 80 guns:—

Rear-Adml. Byng, with red flag on mizen topmast head.
Capt. John Cow.
Lieut. Davenport, William.
Lieut. Vanbrugh,[a] Charles.
Lieut. Brown.
Mr. Burn, Master.
Mr. Ball, Gunner.
Mr. Clements, Boatswain.
Mr. Smith, Carpenter.
Mr. Crofts,.Surgeon.
Mr. Scriven, Purser.
Mr. Coleman, Cook.
Mr. Gascoon, Surgeon's mate 2nd.
Mr. Ghent, Armr.
Mr. Dunkil, Surgeon's 1st mate.

The ship was paid to the beginning of last June. Here were all sorts of good expos'd to sail, and it resembled a fair in the countrey. 6 sail of men of war and near 100 merchant sail'd to St. Helen's, bound for Lisbon. . . . . April 15.

I preach'd this morning on the quarter deck: read prayers about 4. I catechiz'd first the volunteers, and then the officers' boys, and I distributed about 500 books among the ships crew. . . . „ 16.

. . . . . The Norfolk, a 3rd rate, came out of harbour; Capt. Knap, Comander. „ 17.

Maidston and Dunwich went to St. Helens. „ 18.

A signal this morning for lieutenants: about 7 this evening the Dolphin sail'd to St. Helens. „ 19.

I wrote to Dr. Manningham[b] for some more pious treatises. „ 20.

[a] [Captain of the Burford, of 70 guns, in the battle of Cape Passaro.]

[b] [? Prebendary of Winchester, Preacher of the Rolls, and Rector of Mitchelmarsh in Hants. Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, iv. 555.]

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I went a shoar this afternoon to Portsmouth with Mr. Vanbrugg.

April 21. This morning, about 10, the Assurance came out of the harbour to Spithead: a 3d rate.

„ 23. The wind blew very hard all day. The ship this morning was dress'd very fine with all the colours and penants. About 12 we fir'd 5 guns, and then the fleet here and at St. Helen's fir'd 21 a-piece; then the guns round the town. No prayers this afternoon, but catechism. We struck our yards and top masts.

„ 24. Mr. Vanbrug, Mr. Jacobs,[a] Mr. Proctor,[b] Mr. Masters,[c] and I went to Ride in the Isle of Wight, the wind blowing very fresh. We hir'd horses here for 12*d.* per diem and went to Newport, about 7 miles distant. After dinner we went to Cowes and returned to the George at Newport. . . . .

„ 25. We went to S. Yarmouth. Near Carisbrook one of the company was affronted by a butcher, upon which he dismounted and can'd him lustyly. . . . . We came to Yarmouth about 1, and din'd at the King's Head. . . . . This [is] a small fishing town but clean and built for the most part with free stone. In this church is a handsom monument of Sir Robert Holmes. The pedestal of the tomb is 2 feet alt., 8 feet long: of fine marble, over which is an arch'd canopy supported by 2 pillars of lapis, of the Ionic order, under which is an effigies of Sir R. Holmes in armour, about 5 feet alt. On the front of the tomb is this inscription:—

Expertus bello sociusque in pace jucundus,
Et pace et bello bene regno et rege receptus.
Pregrandi spiritu fecit vir magnus honorem,
Quem vita longa nunquam nec morte reliquit.
Ob: An: Dom̃: 1692. An. Æt: 70.

[a] [Thomas Jacobs, at this time rated as A.B. on board the Ranelagh. Captain 1709. Died 1748.]

[b] [The name does not appear in the Ranelagh's pay-book.]

[c] [Streynsham Master, brother of Mrs. Byng and of Mrs. Pocock; at this time 22 years old, and a midshipman of the Ranelagh. Captain, 1710; commanded the Superbe in the action off Cape Passaro in 1718; died 1724.]

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This marble was goeing to France, and the ship being cast away on the back of the isle, was made wrack, and belong'd to this gentleman, who prepar'd all things for his funeral and this monument before his death.[a] In this town is a small castle, with 11 guns mounted.

Sir Cloudsly Shovel hoisted his flagg on board the Norfolk this morning. He din'd here with the Commissioner Mr. Griffith, Capt. Knap and Mr. Ridges, a brewer at Portsmouth. April 28.

Only prayers this morning, none afternoon. I catechiz'd. I gave 6 young gentlemen 6*d.* a piece for learning the 6 first Psalms. „ 30.

Sir C. Shovel hoisted his flag on board the Barfleur, a 2d rate, Capt. Steward commander. May 1.

. . . . At noon, the Norfolk, Assurance, Bridgwater, and Lizard sail'd hence. „ 3.

This morning we loosed foretopsail. . . . . „ 4.

This morning fresh gales. We heal'd our ship and gave her a pair of bootes toppes. The Admiral and his lady went this afternoon to Southampton in order for London. . . . . „ 5.

Fresh gales and rain. We took in 50 barrels of powder. The Swiftsure and Maidstone sail'd hence. The Namur came out of the harbour. I played at tables this afternoon with the captain; he treated me this evening with a bowl of milk punch. The Admiral return'd from Southampton. Col. Gibson saluted Sir Cloudesly with 21 guns; Sir C. Shovel answered with the same number. The Colonel returned his thanks with 3. „ 6.

At 9 this morning hawl'd home the foretopsale sheets. At noon „ 7.

[a] [The inscription here quoted must have been removed shortly after Mr. Pocock saw it, to make way for the present one (See Worsley's *Hist. of the Isle of Wight*, 267), which ends: "Honoratissimo patruo infra sepulto hoc monumentum posuit Henricus Holmes."]

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the Nottingham came to an anchor here from the eastward. The captain and I received the Sacrament at Portsmouth. No service this afternoon, because we took in provision.

May 8. At 6 this morning Sir Cl. Shovel and us made signals to unmoor; at 8 unmoor'd. The Roe-buck came out of the harbour. . . . . We weigh'd about 2 this afternoon with Sir Cl. Shovel and several sail of men of war. At 7 anchored at St. Hellens in 12 fathom water, and found rideing here Sir Stafford Fairbourn on board the Shrewsbury, and several more men of war; at 11 moor'd.

„ 9. . . . . At 3 unmoor'd; at 5 weigh'd and made sail, the wind at E.N.E, haveing under our command the Essex and Coventry. . . . .

„ 10. At 8 this morning Bill of Portland bore N. b W. ½ W. . . . . At noon the Bill of Portland bore N.E. b N., distant 5 leagues. At 1 in the afternoon spoke with the Bridgewater, and in the same time chased 2 French privateers, but have'ng little wind, and in hast, we left them; one of their broken oars swam afterward by us. . . . . At 6 anchored in 35 fathom water; Start bore N. distant 3 miles. At 12 this night weigh'd. . . . . The seamen have this saying:—

If you weather the Start and Prawl,
You'll weather England over all.

„ 11. [Put into Plymouth, of which some account is given].

„ 12. . . . . At 1 of the clock, Sir Cl. Shovell and Sir Staff. Fairbourn with the fleet under them appearing in the offin, we made signal the ships here to weigh. At 5 we weigh'd and lay by to see the merchantmen out. At 10 we joyn'd Sir Cloudsley and the fleet: the Ramhead bore N.N.E., distant 4 miles.

[Following days: details of an uneventful voyage.]

„ 14. . . . . About 6 in the afternoon the Hazardous joyn'd us. One of the French ships, 3rd rate, taken 1703.

Volunteers' Names and Age:—

Mr. William Cow 14.
Mr. Anthony Oldfield, 14.

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Mr. William Steward, 13.
Mr. Henry Cornwall, 13.
Mr. Christoph: Pocklington, 12.
Mr. Peter Osburn, 12.
Mr. George Cow, 11.
20 servants.

. . . . We put our ship's company to short allowance. May 15.

This morning the Assurance brought into the fleet a privateer of 10 guns. The captain was brought to the Admiral, but would not discover anything about the French fleet: the Warspight retook an English Leghorn-man, which this privateer had taken 8 days before. . . . . „ 19.

. . . . Men of war and Merch: in company 176. „ 22.

I supp'd with the gunner. „ 23.

. . . . Sir Staff. Fairbourn on board the Medway, with 7 more sail, left the fleet about 1 this afternoon and made sail for England. He saluted Sir C. Shovell with 21 guns and was answered with 19. . . . . I sup'd with the surgeon and purser. „ 29.

At 6 this morning Sir C. Shovel made the signal for the W. India men to leave us, haveing for their convoy 6 sail of men of war. . . . . Sir C. Shovel and several captains din'd here; the sea rowl'd so much we could scarce keep the dishes or plates on the table. „ 30.

We came to an anchor in Lisbon river (which is the antient Tagus), about 6 miles from the city. . . . . June the 4.

Our ship was heal'd this morning and gave her boats tops. „ 5.

[Visits Lisbon, and gives a long account of the churches and other things which he saw.]

. . . . Our gunner and I went aboard the Vultur fire ship „ 6.

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with Capt. Fisher. I lay with him and he treated us with great civility.

June 7. This afternoon Capt. Fisher, the gunner, and I went aboard the Lenox prize, a privateer of 12 guns belonging to St. Martin's taken about 153 miles westward of the Lizard; Mr. Standish, Capt. Jumper's lieutenant treated us with punch and Bologna puddings. .

„ 12. . . . . Mr. Edwards was made 3d lieutenant of the Norfolk this morning. Major Lawrence came on board with 20 of his marines, and the old ones went away. I removed into Mr. Master's Cabbin, opposite to mine, which was enlarg'd for Mr. Vanbrugg.[a]

„ 14. We took up this morning a spade fish and a large conger eel float'ng by our ship, suppos'd to be kill'd by some other fish, but they were very fresh, and they were dress'd and eat well. The spade-fish was fry'd; and the conger, part spitch'd cock, and part put in a pye. . . . .

„ 16. Sir George Rook and Admiral Callemberg came into our fleet this morning about 11. They were 2 days becalm'd in sight of Count Tholouse's fleet, consisting of 39 sail in the line of battel, and we had 42. Sir George Rook landed 2,000 men at Barcelona; but the people not comeing in as was expected, he bomb'd the town in the night and favour'd the retreat of our men. He blew up and destroy'd the Castle at Altea where the fleet watered. All the Admirals went on board Sir George Rook in the Royal Catherine a 2d rate, the ship in which the King of Spain went to Lisbon.

„ 15-16. The weather very hot.

„ 17. A consultation of flag officers on board Sir George Rook. . .

„ 18. . . . . Sir George Rook made a signall for all lieutenants: this was to take the new line of battel; at 10 we made the signal for the lieutenants of our division.

„ 19. At 10 this morning a Venetian ship came into the fleet from

[a] [There is no mention of leaving Lisbon. See *ante*, p. 126.]

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Lisbon. She saluted Sir George Rook with 7 guns, and he gave her 1. She brought to and lay by till noon, and then made sail. She brought the news that Duke Schomberg had cut off the bridge of boats laid over the Tagus by the French and Spaniards. We heard this day that the Duke of Savoy had defeated the French in Piedmont, and kill'd 2,000 and that Prince Lewis of Baden had cut of 5,000 in the Black Forrest. This evening we saw several bone fires on the Portuguese shore and heard several great guns discharg'd.

A court marshal was held this morning on board Sir George Rook. The 1st lieutenant of the Leopard was broke, and the boatswain of the Triton. 2 licutenants tryed for a duel at Lisbon: both acquitted. June 20.

Sir George anchor'd in Lagus Bay, and our division off Villa Nova, in 18 fathoms. . . . . „ 22.

The whole fleet weigh'd this morning at 7. . . . „ 24.

. . . . . This afternoon about 2 Sir George Rook made the signal for our division to seperate; he for Cape Spartel, and we to Cadiz. „ 25.

. . . . . About 9 we came to an anchor . . . then we sent our boat to Cadiz with a flagg of truce to treat about the exchange of prisoners. Mr. Vanbrugg carry'd a letter from the Admiral to the Governor; Mr. Allen, a midshipman, who understood French, went with him. They were not suffer'd to come ashore; the officer of the guards that were drawn up along the shore took the letter and carry'd it to the Governor, who return'd his answer in writeing. „ 26.

The flag of truce came back about 3, and went to Cadiz again with another letter, and return'd about 9. The present Governor is a Milanese, stil'd the Duke of Brancacio. He was much offended that one of our boats went towards St. Sebastian at the same time the flag of truce was at Sevil Port. This was the Montague's boat, Capt. Cleveland commander, a Scotchman and exceeding covetous; he expected to take up some fishing lines, which I hear he did. Our admiral din'd with him, and the captain. . . . .

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June 28. The weather being stark calm this morning the tide heav'd us towards the shoar, and obliged us to anchor; and afterwards we warp'd off, being within reach of St. Sebastian Fort, which fir'd several shot at the Lenox, but did no damage; they could not bring above two or 3 guns to bear upon us, but one ball fell in the place we lay just before; about 7 there sprang up a moderate gale which carry'd us clear. We were in sight of Cadiz most part of the day. In the evening I could see plainly Cape Tafflager, which lyes at one corner of the Streights mouth, opposite to Cape Spartel, which is the other corner.

The Names of the Ships that went to Cadiz:—

Renelagh, Admiral Byng; Capt. Cow.
Lenox, Capt. Jumper.
Tilbury, Capt. Dalaval.
Hampton Court, Capt. Wager.
Orford, Capt. Norris.
Assurance, Capt. Hancock.
Montague, Capt. Cleavland.
Centurion, Capt. Hern.
Swiftsure, Capt. Wynn.

Sir George Rook's Order to Admiral Byng:—

You are hereby required and directed, with the ships named in the margin, to make the best of your way before Cadiz, where you are to endeavour to surprize any tartans or other boats. and to gain from them the best intelligence you can of the ennemys force and motions both by sea and land; and to anchor in the Bay of Bulls, and thence to send a flag of truce to the Governor of Cadiz, and to acquaint him you are come to exchange any prisoners which he may have there with such as you have with you. But in case he has none, to send ashore all you have on board the ships; which done, to make the best of the way off Cape Spartel to joyn the fleet. You are to take, burn, sink, or otherwise destroy any of the enemy's ships, you may happen to meet with, and protect those of her Majesty's or allys.

Dated off Lagos, June 21st.

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Sir George Rook called a council of flag officers, upon the receipt of a letter from Mr. Methuen, the embassador at Lisbon, who advis'd the attacking Cadiz; but it was not thought feazible, by reason we wanted men to land, and bomb vessels, and other materials for such a design. This was done last night, as I was informed by Major Lawrence. This morning about 7, we joyned the Grand fleet. . . . . June 29.

Prayers and sermon this morning, catechism in the afternoon. July 2.

. . . . . One of the boatswain's mates ran the gantlett for stealing a shirt. „ 5.

. . . . . At 3 this afternoon we pass'd by Tangier, where her Majesty's ships the Montague, Kingston, Hampton Court, Grafton and Triton were at anchor; they weigh'd and follow'd the fleet; they were sent thither about 10 days before. . . . . „ 6.

This morning early the St. George's and Triton's boats chased a Spanish gibar which ran ashoar near Fungerola; the St. George lost one man. At 6 this morning there was a signal for lieutenants and they received these following orders:— „ 7.

That in the watering you send no boat ashoar without officers.

That no body be suffer'd to land with armes besides the marines that shall be appointed for the guard.

That no more men be sent in the boats than is absolutely necessary to fill the water.

That you give orders to the men not to straggle from the watering place, and to give them notice that the guard will have orders to shoot at them that do.

That no boat be sent ashore untill the guard is ashore.

Dated off of Fungerole, this 7th of July, 1704.

To Capt. Cowe, Commander of her Majesty's Ship Renelagh.

We landed 900 marines, English and Dutch, and then sent the boats for water in Malaga Bay, about 4 miles S.W. of the town. The Spaniards fir'd very briskly at first, but the marines soon gott

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possession of a mill that commanded the watering place, and made them retire to the hills. We were alarm'd in the night; but the Dutch guard obliged the enemy to retreat.

The lieutenant of the Charles galley and a volunteer, fought a duel: the former was dangerously wounded.

July 8. Major Lawrence and Lieutenant Colonel Burr invited me a shoar this morning. We landed 900 Dutch and English marines to relieve the others. Colonel Burr and I rode upon mules to visit all the out guards. We drove in about 50 sailors that were stealing onions, and 4 grenadiers that were among them we kept for our guard; and the Spaniards com'ng down upon us, we ordered one of them to fire, and so retreated.

I rode before the main guard that was lead by Major Lawrence and Colonel Burr. We marched about two miles, and then wheeled about; the quarter-guards being ordered by Colonel Fox, we went to the mill, where we were handsomely entertained by Admiral Byng. Immediately after dinner, we were alarmed with the news of a great body of the enemy com'ng down upon us; but this proving false, we returned to the mill.

About 7, several squadrons of horse appeared, and our men were detached in several partys to attack them. There was a small skirmish, and we had only the Prince of Hess's captain taken and stript and wounded in several places; but he was retaken and dressed in the field. We set fire to a large mill, wherein was near 10,000 bushel of corn, and then beat a retreat.

I went with the Lord Nugent, Lord Dursley, Lord Hamilton and Colonel Fox, and several sea captains; but the enemy's horse advance'ng towards us, we took to our heels. I went to Colonel Burr, and marched in the rear with him. Our men were alarmed very often in the night; but the Spaniards fired at too great a distance to do us any mischief.

Admiral Dilks was a fishing in a little river with a net; but about 90 Spaniards come'ng down upon him obliged him to retire very hastily; he had not above 7 men with him, and narrowly escaped.

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I came off with Capt. Cowe, Mr. Masters and the captain of the Garland (Mr. Hobart), who treated us in his ship.

Sir George Rook gave the Lenox prize to Hogee, a captain of a Sally man-of-war, whose ship we burnt last year in the night, by a mistake. He is a man of a middle stature, a tawny complexion, and wears the Turkish habit: he speaks English very well, and, as I was informed by the Admiral, he is a man of good sense, and well natured. He dined with us at the mill, and drank wine freely, tho' a Musselman.

This morning Sir George Rook sent orders to burn the houses July 9.
and mills; and in the evening all the boats came of and the marines; they were covered by some small ships, who fired upon the enemy that came down in great numbers. In all this time we had but two seamen killed in an onion garden, and 4 French soldiers diserted out of Colonel Lutterell's regiment. . . . . We heal'd and scrub'd ship, so had no Divine Service. 9 seamen were whipt by every flag ship, for disobey'ng the Admiral's orders. . . . .

[Off Malaga.] Sir C. Shovel din'd here this day. . . . . „ 10.

This morning Sir George Rook call'd a councel of war; the „ 17.
result of which was, to attack Gibraltar by sea and land. Our Admiral was commanded upon one, and the Prince of Hess upon the other service.

Sir George Rook, Admiral Wishart, Admiral Lake, the Prince of Hess, and his brother din'd here. This afternoon I visit'd the Chaplain General, Mr. Barry,[a] who entertain'd me with much civility.

This morning a signal was made for the lieutenants of our „ 18.
division; they were order'd to send the marine officers on board the Boyne, to consult with Colonel Fox about this expedition. In the afternoon another signal for lieutenants: they had written orders where to rendezvous in case of any accidental seperation.

[a] [Afterwards one of the chaplains of Greenwich Hospital and chaplain of the ordinary at Deptford, in which offices he was succeeded by Mr. Pocock.]

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The weather continues exceeding hot, and the sea is almost covered with a thine slimy matter, as is usual after a long calm. We have been sometimes near the Barbary shore, but could discover nothing
July 19. but an antient castle at a great distance. . . . .

At 12 this day Ceuta Point bears N.W. by W ½ W., distant 10 leagues. In the afternoon we came to an anchor in 10 fathom water. The old Mole bears S.E by E., distant 1 mile. About 5 a shot from the town struck the head of our main mast; about an hour after, or less, another shot beat a tub of water to pieces, that was in the main top. About 7 all the marines land in the N.W. part of the Bay. Some of our small frigatts fir'd upon a party of horse that came down to prevent our landing, and made them retreat in great precipitation. The marines encamp'd to the northward of the town, and took possession of 3 mills, under the command of the Prince of Hesse.

Names of English and Dutch Ships which lay before Gibraltar:—

English.

Yarmouth Lenox Kingston Burford Monk Berwick	To batter the New Mole.
Swiftsure Nassaw Nottingham Eagle Montague Grafton Renelagh Essex Suffolk Monmouth	To batter the Town and South Bastion.

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Dutch.

Catwick Veer Emelia Velue Utrecht Frisia	To batter the old Mole.

Tot. 22.

Sir George Rook's Orders to Admiral Byng:—

Whereas it is resolved at a council of war to insult Gibraltar from our ships as well as from the shore, you are hereby required and directed, with those named in the margin, to ply into the Bay, and to cannonade and bombard the town with them, sending me from time to time an account of your proceedings.

Dated in Tetuan Bay, July the 19th.

[The provision of ammunition for the marines is here given: the same as *ante*, p. 138.]

The Signals at Gibraltar.

1. A blew flag at fore top-mast head and a gun is the signal for our leaving the fleet.
2. When we prepare to come to anchor, the same signal as usual; at which time we are to anchor in the line of battel as near one another as conveniently we can.
3. When the squadron should moor head and stern of one another with their broadsides to the town of Gibraltar, a flag strip'd red, white, and blew, at main top-mast head, and a gun.
4. If we should not fetch in near enough at our first anchoring, and there be occasion to warp in nearer, if in the day, a blew flag at main top-mast head, and a gun; if in the night, a light at each main topsail yard arm, and 2 guns.
5. A red flag at main top-mast head, and a gun; the bomb ships begin to play.

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6. A red flag at fore top-mast head, and a gun; the ships begin to batter.
7. No ship to leave his line, tho' disabled, without acquainting his flagg.
8. If there should be a cessation of fire'ng in the night, the signal which the Prince of Hesse will make from the shore is fire'ng 3 fuzees; and if in the daytime, he will fire 3 volleys, and extend all the colours together at one place.
9. All other signalls shall be the same as in the general instructions.

July 21. Our army burnt some houses in the vineyards. A ship that lay in the Old Mole play'd upon our soldiers, but did them no harm. Sir George Rook seeing a great body of the Spaniards upon the hills advance'ng towards our camp, he detach'd 2 small ships to the eastward, who made them retire. This afternoon, 2 Dutch bomb vessells bombarded the town, while the enemy sometimes fir'd at us. We warped nearer. The Prince sent in a drummer to the Governor to
„ 22. surrender, but he refus'd. The enemy still kept fireing at us, but did us little damage. . . . . About 12 this night, some of our boats under the command of Capt. Whitaker, burnt a ship that lay in the Old Mole, and at the same time the Prince of Hesse made a feint attack, and we threw in several bombs and carcasses, and under the covert of this fire we warp'd into our stations:
„ 23. our ship had but 1 foot water more than she drew. This morning about 5, the Spaniards began fireing from a small fort on the south side of the Great Bastion; and then the signal was made for our ships to begin the cannonade, which they continued to do without intermission for the space of 6 hours. About 10, we perceiv'd a great fire in the town near the Governor's house; but it was afterwards extinguish'd. About 12, a signal was made for all boats, which were manned and armed, and sent under the comand of Capt. Whiteacre, to take possession of the New Mole, which was deserted. This mole is an artificial fortification running out into the Bay, makeing an oblique angle: it is faced with stone, and has

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a breast work with ambrassures. On the Great Bastion that cover'd this Mole was mounted 12 brass and 10 iron guns. Here was a block house and a magazine of powder, which by the heedless courage of our seamen was blown up; for they climbed up into the rooms with lighted matches in their hands, and let one of them fall among the scatter'd powder: near 150 were killed and wounded; several Spaniards were found dead, and some of the guns dismounted. Many of our boats were stav'd in pieces, and our seamen began to retreat in great confusion, imagining they were trapanned by the enemy; but, none appearing, Capt. Whitaker led them to the brow of the rock and ordered them to their several posts. Some took possession of a chappel on the south part of the Peninsula, where they found many of the best of the inhabitants, especially the women with their children: here they met with rich plunder; but the captains shar'd it among themselves, and took away that which the seamen had got.

This chappel is dedicated to St. Europa, whose image is saluted by all Popish ships that pass the Streights, and here are 2 small brass cannon planted to answer the salutes, which made bold to treat us a little more freely with shot at our comeing into the Bay; but they did not kiss our ships. Deo. gr.

In the afternoon, our Admirall sent a letter to the Governor (who is a Spaniard) to deliver up the Great Bastion within an hour, or else he would give no quarter: his answer was, if he would cease fireing and bombarding the town that night, the next morning by 8 we should know his resolution. About ½ an hour after the castle blew up, several hundreds of the inhabitants that retir'd to the south were returning into the town along a narrow way on the side of the Rock, upon which Capt. Jumper and Hicks fired smartly among them from their ships, and I saw several killed. Towards the evening, the seamen took possession of another small fort, and set up the English colours.

The Swallow came in this day and brought us the news of the

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Bavarians and French being defeated by the Duke of Marlborough at Donaivert.

July 24. I dined ashore, with the Admiral, in a chapel near the New Mole. In the morning the Admiral conducted the ladys and others (that had been in the south chapel for two days without provision) to the gates of the town, to prevent their being insulted or abused by the seamen. In the afternoon the Prince of Hesse cam ashore and view'd the New Mole. In the evening the town was surrender'd to the Prince upon these following articles:

[Same as before, *ante*, p. 144.]

After this the signal was made for our seamen to embark, which they did, except about 100 that remained to secure the Mole and small fort above named.

Admiral Dilks came in hither from cruizing of Malaga. We saw great numbers of Spanish horse and foot appear upon the hills, but one of small ships lay near the shore and frightened them from comeing down.

A captain of one of our yatchts ventureing on shore was seized by the Spaniards and barbarously used. He dyed soon after.

„ 26. . . . . I went ashoar this afternoon, and Major Lawrence did me the favour to carry me with him all over the town. Great disorders were committed by the boats' crews that came on shore and marines. But the General Officers took great care to prevent them, by continually patrouling with their serjeants, and sending them on board their ships, and punishing the marines; one of which was hanged, after he had threw dice with a Dutchman, who hove 10 and the Englishman 9.[a] I lay this night at Colonel Fox's quarters with Colonel Bur and Major Lawrence.

[a] [This was not unusual. Here is another rather curious instance. At a court-martial held at Port Royal on 2 March 1698-9, of which Admiral Benbow was president, three men found guilty of desertion were condemned "to be hanged by the neck till they are dead, dead, dead. But in regard of the want of men, it's further the opinion of the court-martial that they heave a die, and one only to suffer death; the other two to be whipt from ship to ship with a halter about their neck."—*Minutes of the Court-Martial.*]

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All the inhabitants except 7 or 8 families went out of the town with their effects; for the priests had possessed them with an opinion that the French would come in few days and retake the town. July 26.

I got some French books at the French Consul's house which was plunder'd. . . . .

The Lord Nugent was made Governor of the town.

. . . . . Mr. Davenport our 1st lieutenant was suspended and confin'd to his cabin, for giving ill language to Capt. Whitaker on board the Royal Katherine. Mr. Davenport is a person of great courage and gallantry, and was the first who landed at the New Mole; and good reason for his expressions to Capt. Whitaker, who had falsely charged him with plundering. I presented him with a large silver medal for his civilitys to me. . . . . „ 27.

At 12 this morning we weigh'd and went out of the Bay; our ship run foul of the Kent, but we received little damage. . . . August 1.

We came to an anchor in Tetuan Bay. . . . . „ 3.

Sir C. Shovel, Sir John Leak, and several captains dined on board. . : . We weighed anchor about 4 this afternoon. „ 8.

At 7 this morning the Centurion made the signal for seeing the enemy's fleet. A council of war was called, and afterwards the signal was made for the line of battel. Two ships were sent into Gibraltar for 800 marines. „ 9.

It was resolv'd in this council to follow the enemy as far as Malaga, and if we could not meet with them there, to return to Gibraltar.

This morning 4 of our small frigatts chas'd one of the ennemy's scouts of 50 guns, and they run her ashore off Fungerole, and the crew set her fire; she blew up about 10. „ 10.

This morning the Triton took a small boat, laden with fruit, come from Malaga, but mistook us, as we suppose, for the French fleet. „ 11.

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The master of this boat, upon examination, told us (for he was brought on board our ship, and he and his men examined in the great cabin) that the French fleet had been off of Malaga about 7 days before, but, hearing of our ships standing that way, they weighed (being watering), in great concern, and left near 50 of their men on shore, and some water casks. They also informed us that the enemy's fleet consisted of 70 sail, great and small, besides 24 gallys, and that they stood to the Barbary shore, and about 3 days afterwards were seen to the eastward of Malaga. They told us likewise that few familys retired to that place from Gibraltar; and that the inhabitants of Malaga and the adjacent villages had been in arms 'till yesterday, when they were commanded to repair to their respective dwellings.

They complain much of their poverty and uneasyness under the French government; haveing no vent for their wine and fruit, except a little sometimes to the French: the rest is either consumed among themselves, or spoiled upon the ground.

After this examination our Admiral carryed him on board Sir George Rook, and when he return'd, he had leave to sell his goods to our seamen.

August 12. At noon we saw some of the enemy's fleet off of Fungerole, standing to the southward. Sir George Rook made the signal for all cruizers to come in, and immediately after for the line of battel.

This afternoon we made several of their tall ships and gallys from the quarter deck. In the evening they were seen to be tow'd by the gallys, and standing to the N.W. about 4 leagues distant. We cleared our ship, but had little wind.

„ 13. The Triton made false fires this morning, very early, for seeing the enemy. At break of day we saw them stretching out to the southward in a line. The wind being eastward, we bore down upon them before it; and a little before 10 we tack'd with our heads to the southward, and edg'd down 'till a quarter past 10, when Sir George Rook (thinking they design'd to weather us by their making sail a head) made the signal to engage. The van of

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our fleet, commanded by Sir Cl. Shovel, made the enemy bear away in 4 hours time; but the center and rear fought 'till night parted us. Many of our ships went out of the line for want of amunition, and we saw several of theirs too. Whenever any of our ships ceased firing, the opposite ships of the enemy's line did so likewise. Our ship was engaged several hours with the French admiral of the blew and his second; then they falling a stern, we come up with the rear-admiral of the blew, and continued fighting 'till 5; then we ceased, but did not goe out of the line, tho' we received 22 shot between wind and water, and had 6 foot water in in the hole; we had 24 killed and 48 wounded. It must be observed, that we bore down upon the enemy the whole time of engagement, and they constantly made sail from us, and the cleaness of their ships gave them the advantage of sailing faster.

The enemy lay by with their lights out 'till about 11 at night, and then bore away to the westward.

Our captain was kill'd in the lower gun deck about 2 hours after we began.

This morning early, the wind came about to the westward, and August 14.
we saw the French fleet in a line, standing to the southward about 4 leagues distant. They had the wind of us all day long; and because they did not take this advantage, it may with great reason be inferred they had enough of fighting the day before; and without dispute their ships received much damage, and they had expended most of their ammunition; for they could not but see us with their glasses repairing our ships, as we saw them all day long.

We found in our ships shots of a larger size than any we had in our fleet, and likewise double head and cross bar and patridges, none of which we fired at them.

We had fished our masts and yards and stoped our leaks, and had „ 15.
above 25 rounds filled, and the wind comeing eastward, about 11 the signal was made to chase in a line of battel; which we did 'till 4, and the wind be'ng dull, we lay by, up N.E. b. N., off N. In the evening, we saw the enemy bearing away with all the sail they

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could pack to the N.W. In all this action, we lost not one ship, and the number of men (officers included) that were killed, 600, and wounded, 1536, or thereabouts. Many of our wounded men dyed, and a great many of the flux, which was caused by the brakish water we took in at Tetuan.

I will not enter into a dispute about a victory which is deny'd plainly by the noble Peers;[a] but if an enemy has an advantage and will not take it, and we pursue them (as every journal in the fleet can testify), and they fly and decline fighting, and afterwards goe into one of their own harbours which we lately took from them,[b] I must own, if this is not a manifest indication of a conquest, it will be a difficult thing to define a victory.

August 16. This morning early, 3 small ships were sent out to look for the enemy, but they made no signal of see'ng them all day. . . . . About 4 this afternoon, a Dutch ship of 62 guns unfortunately blew up, only nine men were sav'd; Admirall Callembourgh remov'd out of her in the morning at 11.

„ 17. This day, we made little sail, the weather being calm and hazey. About 2 hours before night we made Gibraltar, dist: 4 leagues.

The Hampton Court came into the fleet, and assured us the enemy had not passed the Streights (as we supposed), for she came through the 15th and stayed at Gibraltar. So we imagine they stretched to the northward, and went for Malaga, as was confirm'd afterward. We lay by all night.

„ 18. I saw one of our wounded men's arm cut of, he did very well. We lay by all this day and night.

19. We took a barko-longo this morning, going to Ceuta from Terriffe, laden with small arm.

At 3 this afternoon, the signal was made to anchor in a line; at 5, we anchored in 19 fathom water. The Old Mole S.E., and the

[a] [30 Oct. 1704. Cf. *Parl. Hist.*, vi. 356-7, and *note*.]

[b] [Toulon. This passage is a clear proof that the journal is a fair copy. Toulon was not taken (if the term is at all applicable) till 1707.]

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New, S.S.E. Sir George Rooke at his come'ng in saluted the garison with 21 guns, and was answ'd with as many. As soon as it was dark, the guns were discharg'd quite round the town, and the marines made a fuge fire and bonefires.

We saw great numbers of Spanish horse and foot, under the command of the M. de Villadarias, that were design'd for the siege of this place, but they will find it a most difficult enterprize.

Several settees were seen this morning standing for Ceuta, but it was too late to intercept them. I read prayers to the garison in Colonel Fox's quarters, and afterwards Major Lawrence carryed me to the Prince of Hesse, who received me very graciously and invited me to dine with him. He resides in the late Spanish Governor's house, in the Parade. August 20.

Sir George Rook din'd ashore with the Prince. We sent 4 of our demi cannon a shore to be planted upon the New Mole. „ 21.

Capt. Dalaval succeeded Capt. Cow. „ 22.

I remov'd out of the admiral's cabbin and hung up an hammock in the lieutenants'.[a] „ 23.

At 11 we weighed and made sail out of the Bay, the wind being at E.N.E. The town gave us 21 guns and were answered by Sir George Rook with the same number. „ 25.

We left 2,000 marines, above 100 gunners, armourers, and carpenters, 42 peices of cannon, and 6 months provision.

. . . . This night, Sir John Leak with his squadron appointed for Lisbon, parted from the fleet. „ 30.

[Sept. 11th, in lat: 39° 19. General order to put ship's company on half allowance of bread, and "such an allowance of water dayly as may last out long enough in proportion to the provision, and continue to do so till you arrive at Portsmouth or some other port."]

. . . . About 1, we came to an anchor in St. Hellens Road. September 24.

[a] [He has never said anything about getting into the Admiral's cabin. See *ante*, June 12.]

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September 26. The Dutch went home first strikeing their flaggs, and saluteing Sir George Rook. Sir George Rook struck his flagg and went ashore, every ship giving him 15 guns: he was saluted likewise by the ships at Spithead, and the garison at Portsmouth. We found at Spithead Admiral Whetstone with a blew flag at mizen topmast head, and bound for Lisbon, with several ships under his convoy.

„ 28. Our Admiral carryed me in his own barge to Portsmouth. . . . I lay that night at Havant, at Mr. Scriven's, our purser's father.

„ 29. I reached home about 9 this night, and found my uncle in good health, and was received by him with much civility and affection.

Laus Deo Opt. Max.
In secula seculorum. Amen.

[On Feb. 1st, 17$\frac{0}{+}$, he is appointed to the Union, a 2nd rate, lying at Chatham. The journal is of 3 pp. only, and notes his joining, and names of officers.

The Union is a new name given to the Albemarle. She was built at Harwich 1680 by Isac Betts; length of the gun deck 162′, breadth, 44′ 5″; 1376 tons; 680 men, her present complement; 90 guns.]

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REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

OF

THE CAMDEN SOCIETY.

READ AT THE GENERAL MEETING

ON THE 2D MAY, 1889.

The Council have to regret the loss, by death, of a distinguished Member of their own body—

J. O. HALLIWELL-PHILLIPPS, Esq.

who, in former days, had taken an active part in their deliberations, and was one of the oldest Members of the Society itself.

The following Members of the Society have also died during the past year—

J. E. BAILEY, Esq.
WILLIAM CHAPPELL, Esq.
SIR F. G. OUSELEY.

The following new Members have been elected during the year:—

MRS. REED.
The GLADSTONE LIBRARY (NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB).
H. H. SMITH CARINGTON, Esq.
LEHIGH UNIVERSITY, South Bethlehem, Penn. U.S.A.
HALLE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
VIENNA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.
BATTERSEA PUBLIC LIBRARIES.
Dean and Chapter of LINCOLN.
ENOCH PRATT LIBRARY, Baltimore.

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The books of the year 1888-9 have been—

1. The Travels through England of Dr. Richard Pococke. Vol. II. Edited by J. J. CARTWRIGHT, Esq.

2. Documents illustrating the Impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham. Edited by SAMUEL R. GARDINER, LL.D., Director of the Society.

The publications of the year 1889-90 will probably be—

1. The Biography of George Byng, first Viscount Torrington. To be edited by PROFESSOR LAUGHTON.

2. The Essex Papers. Vol. I. To be edited by OSMUND AIRY, Esq.

3. Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster. To be edited by ARTHUR LEACH, Esq.

Of these the first will throw light on the naval history of the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. The second, being selections from the correspondence of the first Earl of Essex of the Capel family, will contain new matter relating to the Court and Government of Charles II. whilst the third will give information of a somewhat similar character to that afforded by Dr. Jessopp's recently published Visitations of the Monasteries of the Diocese of Norwich.

The Council have added to their list of future publications Selections from the Clarke MSS., to be edited by C. H. Firth, Esq. These MSS., which are in the possession of Worcester College, Oxford, contain copies of documents collected by William Clarke, at one time secretary to Monk. They contain valuable matter relating to the affairs of the army in 1647 and 1648; to the discipline of the army in Scotland during the Protectorate, and to the events preceding the Restoration.

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER, *Director*.
JAMES GAIRDNER, *Secretary*.

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BALANCE SHEET 1888-89.

We, the Auditors appointed to audit the Accounts of the Camden Society, report to the Society, that the Treasurer has exhibited to us an Account of the Receipts and Expenditure from the 1st of April 1888 to the 31st of March 1889, and that we have examined the said accounts, with the vouchers relating thereto, and find the same to be correct and satisfactory.

And we further report that the following is an Abstract of the Receipts and Expenditure during the period we have mentioned:—

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
To Balance of last year's account...	220	17	3
Received on account of Members whose Subscriptions were in arrear at last Audit	49	2	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on the 1st of May, 1888.....	177	2	0
The like on account of Subscriptions due on the 1st of May, 1889.....	17	1	0
One Composition in lieu of Annual Subscription	10	0	0
One year's dividend on £466 3 1 2¾ per Cent. Consols, standing in the names of the Trustees of the Society, deducting Income Tax...	13	12	8
Allowed on above Stock at 5s. per cent. on exchange for 2¾ per Cent. Consols.....	1	3	3
To Sale of Publications of past years.....	4	7	2
	£493	5	4

Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Paid for printing 500 Copies Norwich Visitations	114	18	3
„ „ Pococke's Travels, Vol. II.	89	7	6
„ „ Impeachment of Buckingham	83	17	6
Paid for Miscellaneous Printing	6	11	0
Paid for delivery and transmission of Books, with paper for wrappers, warehousing expenses, &c. (including Insurance)	23	12	4
Paid for Paper	43	14	0
Paid for Binding.....	31	7	0
Paid for Transcripts	22	19	6
Postages, &c.	2	16	7
Clerical Assistance	6	6	0
Paid Messrs. Parker for one volume returned.....	0	10	0
	£425	19	8
By Balance	67	5	8
	£493	5	4

April 25, 1889.

James Rae.

Wynne E. Baxter.

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